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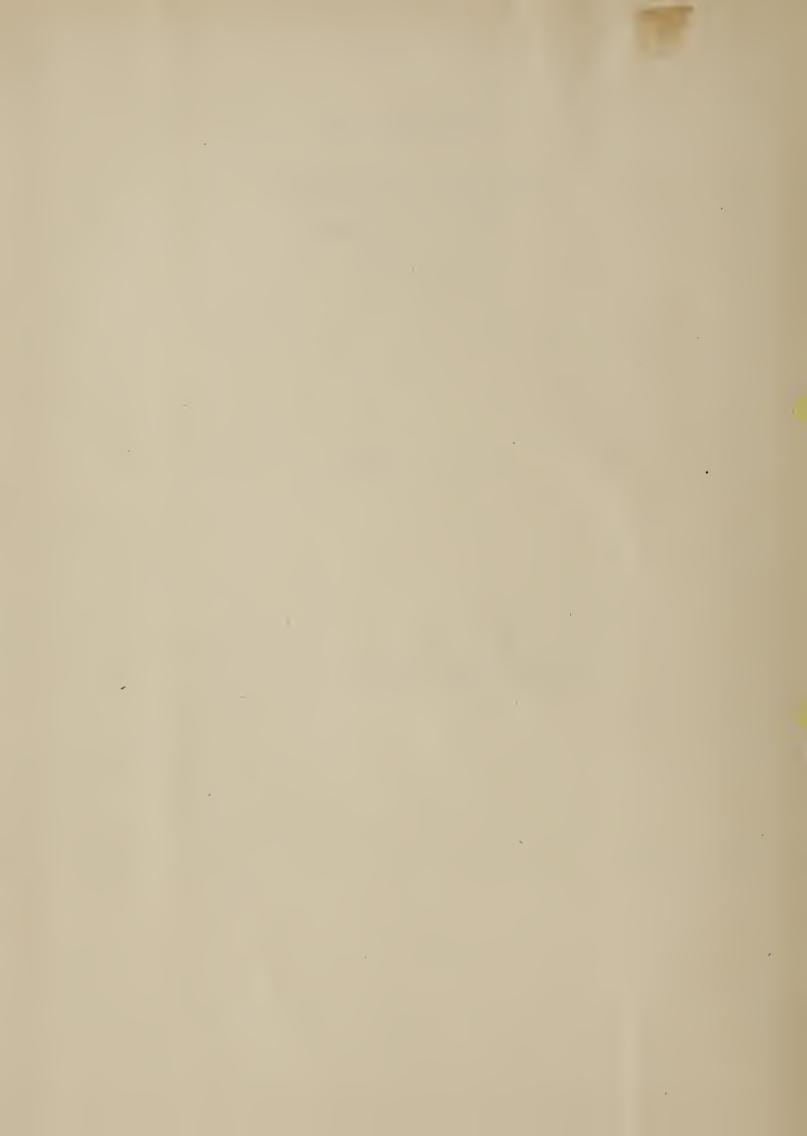


## LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 31.--79th Congress
Chapter 61--1st Session
H. R. 2013

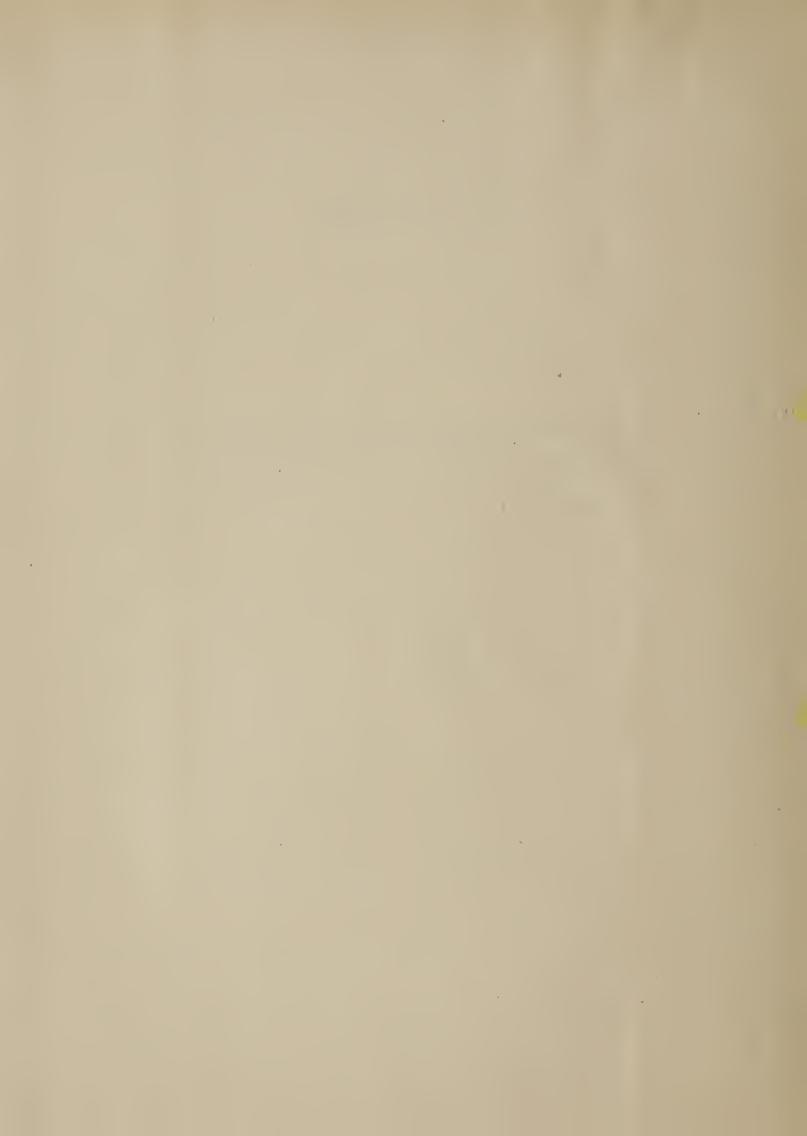
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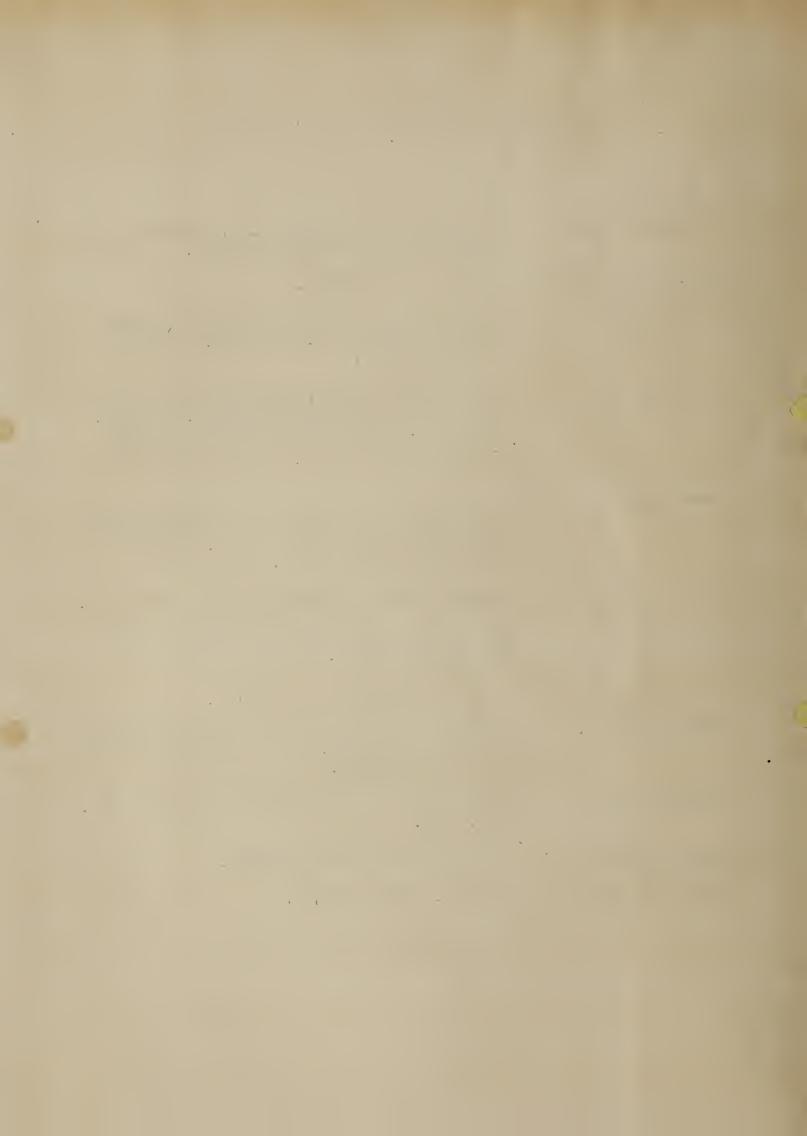
DIGEST OF PURISH LAW 31

To extend the Lend-Lease Act for one year and to limit the President's authority to enter into post-war lendlease agreements.



# Summary and Index of History on H. R. 2013

February 6, 1945	Introduced by Pep. Ploom, N. Y. Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs.
Feb. 7-Mar. 6, 1945	Hearings: House, 2013.
March 6, 1945	House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported without amendment. H. Rept. 259. Print of bill as reported.
March 8, 1945	Rep. Chiperfield, Ill. submitted the minority views of Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 259, Pt. 2. House Rules Committee submitted H. Res. 175 (H. Rept. 292) for consideration of the bill.
March 12, 1945	Rep. Bloom, N. Y. inserted a Committee-approved amendment. Rules Committee reported another resolution, H. Res. 178 (H. Rept. 308) for consideration of the bill.
March 13, 1945	Debated in House. Passed House with amendment.
March 14, 1945	Print of bill as referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
March 28, 1945	Hearings: Senate, H. R. 2013.
April 5, 1945	Peported without amendment by Senate Committee on Foreign Pelations. Senate Pept. 178. Print of bill as reported.
April 9, 1945	Debated in Senate. Amendment submitted by Sen. Taft. Ohio.
April 10, 1945	Passed Senate without amendment.
April 16, 1945	Approved. Public Law, 31.



DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Issued February 7, 1945, for actions of Tuesday, February 6, 1945)

# (For staff of the Department only)

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roreign trade	Post-war planning2,11 HOUSE	4.

1. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE. Began debate on H. J. Res. 85, appropriating \$6,784,000 additional for the census of agriculture for fiscal year 1945 (pp. 869-94). Reps. Michener, Mich., Brown, Ohio, Rich, Pa., and Taber, N. Y., criticized this measure, claiming that it would adversely affect the labor market during the manpower shortage (pp. 871-3). Reps. Jones, Ohio, and Johnson, Okla., discussed the possibility of the AAA "doing this job" (p. 874). Rep. Camnon, Mo., inserted Secretary Wickard's, Judge Jones', H. R. Tolley's, and others' letters to him favoring this project (pp. 879-83). Rep. Dirksen, Ill., opposed enactment of this resolution as unnecessary expenditure at this time and suggested that the Census Bureau would be able to get the pertinent information from this Department (pp. 883-5).

2. APPROPRIATIONS. Received from the President supplemental appropriation estimates as follows:

Department of Agriculture, \$29,750,000 for AAA (for (1) \$29,500,000 for payments at \$5 an acre, (2) \$200,000 for county association expenses, and (3) 100 \$50,000 for AAA administrative expenses) (H. Doc. 64). (Amends 1946 Budget.)

Department of Agriculture, \$3,297,000 (BEXPQ, control of insect pests and plant diseases, \$1,088,000; FS, for fighting forest fires, \$1,959,114; and AAA, flow payment around 1915 area \$250,000) (H:Dog. 65):

flax payment program, 1945 crop \$250,000) (H. Doc. 65);

Departments of Agriculture, Sommerce, and Labor, for basic economic is statistics, \$13,098,000 (\$205,000 for BAE for consumer income data, \$492,000 for BAE and \$327,000 for BHN&HE for consumer expenditures and savings data) (H. Doc. 54);

Treasury Department, \$291,979,881.04 (including \$256,764,881.04 for restoretion of CCC capital impairment and \$30,000,000 for subscriptions for FCIC capital stock) (H. Doc. 48);

OPA, \$6,790,000 (H. Doc. 49; and www. \$5,567,400 (H. Doc. 63) (p. 898).

3. A.A.A. ALLOTMENTS. Rep. Flanhagan, Va., requested immediate consideration of S. 338, to protect the allotments of farmers who have shifted to war crops of who have entered the armed services, but Rep. Rankin, Miss., objected, stating, "consideration should be postponed until we vote on the bill [H. J. Res. 85]. now before the House" (p. 894).

4. BANKING AND CURRENCY. Rep. Crawford, Mich., criticized an American Banker article by Secretary Morgenthau, stating, "Since when has the Secretary of the Treasury received authority to determine what kind of legislation this Congress is going to enact on such matters as international currency stabilization and the international bank." (pp. 868-9).

#### SENATE

NOT IN SESSION. ( Next meeting Thurs., Feb. 8.

# BILLS INTRODUCED

- 5. LEND-LEASE. H. R. 2013, by Rep. Bloom, N. Y., to extend the Lend-lease Act for lyear. To Foreign Affairs Committee. (p. 898.)
- 6. VETERANS; SURPLUS PROPERTY. H. R. 2016, by Rep. McDonough, Calif., granting to veterans certain benefits and priorities in connection with the acquisition by them of surplus property. To Expenditures in Executive Departments Committee (p. 898-9.); and H. R. 2017, to amend the Mustering-out Payment Act of 1944, granting to veterans certain benefits and priorities in connection with the acquisition by them of surplus property. To Military Affairs Committee. (p. 899.)
- 7. COMMODITY CREDIT. H. R. 2023, by Rep. Spence, Ky., to continue CCC as an agency of the U. S., increase its borrowing power, revise the basis of the annual appraisal of its assets, etc. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 899.)
- 8. A.A.A. TOBACCO. H. J. Res. 94, by Rep. Clements, Ky., relating to the marketing of fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco under the AA Act of 1938. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 899.)
- 9. FARM LABOR. H. Con Res. 27, by Rep. Lemke, N. Dak., to reaffirm the necessity of the Tydings amendment in our war effort, and creating a congressional committee to investigate the necessity of agricultural deferments. To Rules Committee. (p. 899.)
- 10. RENT CONTROL. H. R. 2022, by Rep. Crawford, Mich., to aid in preventing inflation, to stabilize rents of D. C. commercial property. To District of Columbia Committee. (p. 899.)

#### ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 11. TRANSPORTATION; FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Coffee, Wash., inserted his address with respect to the place of America's merchant marine in the <u>post-war</u> era (pp. A503-4).
- 12. FARM LABOR. Speech in the House by Rep. Woodruff, Mich., including communications, on directives and legal aspects on the drafting of farm labor (pp. A504-5).

Extension of remarks of Rep. Bunker, Nev., including a Nev. Legislature resolution, opposing the induction of farm labor (pp. A508-9).

NATIONAL SERVICE. Extension of remarks of Reps. Schwabe, Okla., Philbin, Mass., and Robsion, Ky., criticizing H. R. 1752, "the work-or-fight bill" (pp. A505-6, A509-10, A513-6).

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (Wednesday, February 7, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Public Lands at 10:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, February 7, 1945, to consider H. R. 1719 and for organization purposes.

COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

(Thursday, February 15, 1945)

The Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing Thursday, February 15, 1945, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 1425, to provide for the sale of certain Government-owned merchant vessels, and for other purposes.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

170. A letter from the executive director, national legislative committee, the American Legion, transmitting the Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual National Convention of the American Legion, held at Chicago, Ill., September 18-20, 1944 (H. Doc. No. 43); to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation and ordered to be print-

ed, with illustrations.
171. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Wallace Robertson, Henry Bowker, and Edward Parisian, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Claims

172. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend the law relating to larceny in interstate or foreign commerce; to the Committee

on the Judiciary.

173. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to extend the law relating to perjury to the willful

giving of contradictory statements under oath; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

174. A letter from the Chairman, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting the report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the month of November 1944; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

175. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Department of Commerce for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$389,000 (H. Doc. No. 44); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

176. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Railroad Retirement Board for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$37,250 (H. Doc. No. 45); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

177. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting for the consideration of Congress a proposed provision pertaining to appropriations of the Federal Security Agency for the fiscal years 1944 and 1945 (H. Doc. No. 46); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

178, A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$6,310,000, and a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an appropriation for the Department of State (H. Doc. No. 47); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

179. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$291,979,881.04, and a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an existing appropriation for the Treasury Department (H. Doc. No. 48); to the Committee on Apropriations and ordered to be printed.

180. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Office of Price Administration in the amount of \$6,790,000 (H. Doc. No. 49); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

181. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an exist-ing appropriation for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1945 (H. Doc. No. 50); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

182. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriation amounting to \$8,707,400, together with a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an existing appropriation, for the Federal Security Agency for the fiscal year 1945 (H. Doc. No. 51); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

183. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the National Housing Agency for the fiscal year 1945, in the amount of \$90,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 52); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

184. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Federal Works Agency for the fiscal year 1945, in the amount of \$23,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 53); to the Committee on Appropriations and or-

dered to be printed.
185. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor in the amount of \$13,098,000 for the fiscal year 1945 (H. Doc. No. 54); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be

186. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations in the amount of \$1,140,500, together with provisions affecting an existing appropriation, for the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1945 (H. Doc. No. 55); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

187. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting revised estimates of appropriations for the Department of Justice, involving decreases amounting to \$135,000, in the form of amendments to the Budget for the fiscal year 1946 (H. Doc. No. 56); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

188. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of a proposed provision in the form of an amendment to the Budget for the fiscal year 1946 (H. Doc. No. 57); to the Committee on

Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

189. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriation for the Department of Commerce for the fiscal year 1946, in the form of amendments to the Budget for said fiscal year, amounting to \$337,000 (H. Doc. No. 58); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

190. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the amount of \$14,500 and a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an appropriation, both in the form of amendments to the Budget for the fiscal year 1946, for the Federal Security Agency (H. Doc. No. 59); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

191. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the amount of \$405,000 for the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, for improvement of existing river and harbor works, to remain available until expended (H. Doc. No. 60); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

192. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an existing appropriation of the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Appropria-

193 A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the judiciary amounting to \$387,600, in the form of amendments to the Budget for the fiscal year 1946 (H. Doc. No. 62); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

194. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the War Manpower Commission of the Office for Emergency Management for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$5.567,400 (H. Doc. No. 63); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

195: A communication from the President

of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the amount of \$29,750,000 for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year 1946, in the form of an amendment to the Budget for said fiscal year (H. Doc. No. 64); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

196. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting three supplemental estimates of appropriations, totaling \$3,297,000, for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year 1945 (H. Doc. No. 65); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

197. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental and deficiency estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1945 and prior fiscal years for the Department of the Interior in the amount of \$424,282.89, together with drafts of proposed provisions pertaining to existing appropriations and proposed authorization for the expenditure of Indian tribal funds (H. Doc. No. 66); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

198. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Veterans Administration amounting to \$246,-775,000 for the fiscal year 1945 (H. Doc. No. 67); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BECKWORTH:

H.R. 2012. A bill to provide for Federal participation in the financing of certain aeronautical developments; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H.R. 2013. A bill to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H. R. 2014. A bill to amend section 22 (b) (4) of the Internal Revenue Code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLS: H.R. 2015. A bill establishing a presumption of service-connected disability in the case of disease or injury existing within 5 years after discharge from service in the armed forces during the present war; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legisla-

By Mr. McDONOUGH:

H. R. 2016. A bill granting to veterans certain benefits and priorities in connection with the acquisition by them of surplus propthe mine workers, I call your attention to the following newspaper articles:

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader-Evening News of February 3, 1945]

CHURCH IS CLOSED BY LACK OF COAL; 35,000 MINERS AT COLLIERIES TODAY—10,000 IDLE EARLIER DUE TO EMBARGO, LOSE EXTRA PAY BUT REPORT TO RELIEVE FUEL SHORTAGE

Heeding the request of Government authorities that they work today to help relieve the fuel shortage which is still in the critical

stage, an estimated 35,000 mine workers in District 1 reported for work today.

Producers contacted in a local survey this morning stated that the manpower situation was normal for Saturday when, ordinarily, some of the workers are absent.

Earlier in the week there was a supposition that those miners who lost a day earlier in the week as a result of the embargo placed upon coal shipments might not work today. The opinion prevailed that these men, not having worked five consecutive days leading up to today, would sacrifice time and half pay today and therefore would not work. Union spokesmen, as late as yesterday, predicted that the men would work on a straight time basis today inasmuch as the loss of a day's work earlier in the week resulted from a national emergency which they recognized. It is estimated that less than 10,000 mcn in the entire district are sacrificing extra pay today because of the earlier interruption in work.

#### [From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Record of February 4, 1945]

SIXTY-FIVE THOUSAND MINERS WORK ON DAY OFF-OVERTIME PAY IS GIVEN UP IN EMER-GENCY-DIG 150,000 TONS OF COAL TO OFF-SET SHORTAGE

Sixty-five thousand of the State's 77,200 anthracite miners dug coal on their normal day off yesterday in response to the Government's plea to help combat the critical fuel shortage.

#### PRODUCE 150,000 TONS

They produced approximately 150,000 tons of coal, said Owen E. Williams, regional Solid Administration representative, at Wilkes-Barre.

The news was welcomed here by the Retail Coal Dealers' Association of Philadelphia, which said the off-day output would push the 200 dealers here slightly ahead of their current day-to-day basis of supplies.

Coupled with the reports from the hardcoal belt was somewhat more moderate weather than that which created the fuel crisis.

#### RAIN. SNOW FORECAST

After dipping to a low of 18° at 8 a. m., the temperature rose to 30° at 4 p. m. The Weather Bureau forecast a high today of 33° with increasing cloudiness. Mixed snow and rain, originally predicted for today, may arrive tomorrow because a storm is moving up from the Gulf States more slowly than was anticipated.

Effect of the weather on pedestrians was shown by a check of hospitals which reported more than 1,100 persons were treated for injuries from falls on icy streets in the last 17 days. The snow and ice have been continually on the ground for 4 weeks today.

Thousands of the miners who worked yesterday received only straight time because for them it was not a sixth consecutive workday. Their mines were closed for 1 day earlier in the week, due to the first rail embargo on nonmilitary shipments.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revisé and extend my remarks and to include therein a news story from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of February 3, 1945, and from the Philadelphia Record of the same date.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

#### SOLID FUEL SHORTAGE

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania on his remarks in reference to the coal problem of the East at the present time. I am sure that, as soon as the situation is such that cars can be provided, an ample supply of coal will be furnished.

May I say to the Members of the House that they have just heard the remarks of a distinguished and able Member of this House, and I am sure in the days to come the people of northeastern Pennsylvania may well be proud of the achievements of their new advocate.

#### VETERANS' HONORABLE DISCHARGE BUTTON

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illi-

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to the following announcement issued this morning by the War Department Bureau of Public Relations. I quote:

Representatives of the Army, Navy, and Veterans Administration, following a thorough study, have decided to retain the present design of the discharge button which is given all honorably discharged veterans of the present war.

As some Members of the House are aware, there has been some public criticism of this insignia. It has been said that it is not easily recognized, that the public does not know for what it stands, and that former service men and women. who have served their country well, have been made the object of embarrassing and humiliating remarks. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] had something to say on the subject in this Chamber less than a week ago.

As a recently discharged veteran, I can attest that the public is not well informed on the discharge button. However, that is less the fault of the emblem itself than of the public-relations branches of our armed services. They, and perhaps the Office of War Information, should have made it their business long ago to so publicize this button that it would be known and honored by every-

I have been gratified to learn that recently a prominent Chicago newspaper, the Herald-American, has undertaken an aggressive campaign to secure public recognition of the veteran's honorable discharge button. The design was featured in gold on page 1, with the legend, "They have served."

This campaign has since been taken up by other newspapers in the Hearst chain, and the current issue of Reader's Digest devotes half a page to the same subject. If newspapers and magazines generally would devote themselves to this worthy effort, I am certain that the morale of our returning service men and women would be greatly enhanced.

At the same time I would like to suggest to the Secretary of War his earnest consideration of a proposal to permit the use of this insignia on service flags. Every home and every factory, office, store, or place of business from which men and women have gone out to serve their country is permitted to display the familiar blue star on a white and red background. If the man or woman is killed, the blue star is supplanted by a gold star. But if they have served and been honorably discharged, there is no way of indicating this fact on the service flag.

I urge the War Department to so amend its regulations as to make this possible. Now that there is no longer any question about the design of the emblem and its significance is being given such widespread publicity, this additional step would overcome the last barrier to its complete acceptance by the public.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and that my remarks may be inserted in the RECORD immediately following the address of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. GREGORY (at the request of Mr. CHAPMAN), indefinitely, on account of illness.

#### SENATE BILLS REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 410. An act for the relief of Marino Bello: to the Committee on Claims.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 13 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, February 7, 1945, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(Wednesday February 7, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, February 7, 1945, to resume hearings on H. R. 1362, railroad retirement bill.

#### COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Wednesday, February 7, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold an organization meeting at 10:30 a.m. on Wednesday, February 7, 1945.

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 6, 1945

Mr. Bloom introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

# A BILL

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That subsection (c) of section 3 of an Act to promote the
- 4 defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,
- 5 as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1945"
- 6 wherever it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof
- 7 "June 30, 1946"; by striking out "July 1, 1948" and in-
- 8 serting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1949"; and by striking out
- 9 "July 1, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1946";
- 10 and subsection (b) of section 6 of such Act is amended by
- 11 striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof
- 12 "June 30, 1949".

# A BILL

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

By Mr. BLOOM

February 6, 1945

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

## OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Issued March 7, 1945; for actions of Tuesday, March 6, 1945)

# (For staff of the Department only)

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#### HOUSE

- L. COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION. Rules Committee reported a resolution for the consideration of H.R. 2023, to continue CCC as a U.S. agency, increase its borrowing power, revise the basis of annual appraisal of its assets, etc. (pp. 1855, 1860).
- 2. LEND-LEASE. Foreign Affairs Committee reported without amendment H.R. 2013, to extend the Lend-Lease Act for 1 year (H.Rept. 259) (p. 1860).
- J. FOREIGN LOANS; BANKING AND CURRENCY; INTERNATIONAL T.V.A. During his speech, "Shall Uncle Sam Again Become the Financial Scapegoat for the World," Rep. Mason, Ill., criticized proposals that the U.S. finance the world after the war and stated that if we are paid back in goods the American market will become flooded and "Under such a condition, what would become of the American farmer..?" He claimed that the "Bretton Woods program is a lending program" and that the proposal for an International TVA is "very closely related" (pp. 1855-7).
- 4. NOMINATION. Rep. Spence, Ky., commended the nomination of Fred A. Vinson to be Federal Loan Administrator (pp. 1822-3).
- 5. ECONOMY. Rep. Rich, Pa., urged economy in Federal expenditures (p. 1824).

  Both Houses
- 6. FARM MACHINERY./received S.Dak. Legislature resolutions favoring legislation to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to requisition certain materials and equipment not needed for the war effort for use in soil and water conservation work (pg. 1786, 1861).

#### SENATE

7. COVERNMENT CORPORATIONS. Sen. Moore, Okla., criticized Government corporations, claiming that "American democracy has moved toward economic totalitarianism..."

and that "it all adds up to a controlled economy by governmental edict administered by an unresponsive bureaucracy"; stated that "Without effective control by the Congress, Government through these corporate instrumentalities is engaged in practically every industrial field"; claimed that "A glaring example of the almost limitless activities of these Government corporations was exposed in an address by.../Rep. Keefe, Wis./ concerning the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation"; and states that FCIC "is an example of the necessity for congressional control." Other members discussed this with him. (pp. 1795-8.)

- Received a Washington County (Md.) Taxpayers Association resolution urging that Federal expenditures be limited to Federal Government needs and purposes. To Appropriations Committee. (p. 1785.)
- J. CONGRESSIONAL ORGANIZATION. Sens. Thomas, Utah, Pepper, Fla., Russell, Ga., White, Maine, Brooks, Ill., and LaFollette, Wis., were appointed members of the Joint Committee on the organization of Congress established pursuant to H. Con. Res. 18 (p. 1781).
- 10. NOMINATION. Confirmed the nomination of Fred M. Vinson to be Federal Loan Administrator (p. 1819).
- 11. SURPLUS PROPERTY; TRANSPORTATION. Received the Attorney General's first monthly report on the disposition of surplus Government-owned property and the first of a series of reports on transportation. To Finance Committee. (p. 1782.)
- 12. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Received a Pa. Legislature memorial opposing the construction of this project (p. 1782).
- 13. WILDLIFE. Received Mont. and Md. Legislatures resolutions favoring a longer open season on migratory waterfowl. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee (pp. 1783, 1785.)
- 14. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. Sen. McCarran, Nev., submitted a resolution to provide that S.555, the MVA bill, is to be referred to the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee after the Commerce Committee has concluded its consideration of this bill (pp. 1788-9).

Received a Mont. Legislature resolution opposing the proposed MVA (p.1783).

- 15. INFORMATION. Both Houses received an Ariz. Legislature resolution urging efforts in behalf of national and international agreements guaranteeing freedom of access to and transportation of news (pp. 1784, 1861).
- 16. RESEARCH. Received a retition from sundry Md. citizens opposing vivisection of dogs in the D.C. (p. 1785).
- 17. MANPOWER.BILL. Continued debate on this bill, H. R. 1752 (pp. 1789-90, 1803-18). Agreed, 44-35; to Sen. Bushfield; (S. Dak.) amendment to eliminate the penalty provision in the bill which provides for imprisonment and/or fines for persons wilfully violating any W.M.C. order (p. 1808). Sen. Bailey (N.C.) submitted an amendment, to Sen. Revercomb's substitute amendment, which provides that any registrant between the ages of 18 and 45 who is not performing essential work may be drafted into the armed forces (pp. 1808-18).

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Side of the control o

18. FARM MACHINERY. H. R. 2493, by Rep. Beckworth, Tex., to permit direct sales of surplus vehicles and small machinery to farmers for their use in earning a

vestigation is proved to be disloyal or disaffected in a sensitive position where he might have access to secret Army equipment or vital Army information. It is worthy of note that the instruction of December 30 has been for nearly 2 months in the hands of a large number of responsible commanders. It is these men who are most alert to detect, and are directly affected by evidences of disloyalty in their commands. Not one of them has reported to the War Department that the instruction is having or will have any tendency to weaken the Army's controls over subversive or disaffected personnel.

Clearly, the War Department is put-ting first and foremost the individual loyalty, ability, and performance of its personnel and will continue to do so.

Our Army is doing a magnificent job all over the world, and it has America's whole-hearted support.

(Mr. DE LACY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. LECOMPTE (at the request of Mr. GWYNNE of Iowa), for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

To Mr. KELLY of Illinois, for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRNE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now ad-

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 7, 1945, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(Wednesday, March 7, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, March 7, 1945, to resume hearings on H. R. 1362, railroad retirement bill.

> COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Wednesday and Thursday, March 7 and 8, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold hearings on Wednesday and Thursday, March 7 and 8, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 173, 1548, 1624, and 2256.

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

(Thursday, March 8, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads on Thursday, March 8, 1945, at 10 a. m., at which time hearings will be had on parcel-post rates.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

275. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to reserve certain land on the public domain in Utah for addition to the Goshute Indian Reservation was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar as follows:

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 776. A bill to authorize the naturalization of Filipinos; without amendment (Rept. No. 252). ferred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.
Mr. MASON: Committee on Immigration

and Naturalization. H. R. 1104. A bill to amend section 23 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917; without amendment (Rept. No. 253). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. DOUGHTON of North Carolina: mittee on Ways and Means. H. R. 2348. bill to provide for the coverage of certain drugs under the Federal narcotic laws; with amendment (Rept. No. 254). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McCOWEN: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 385. A bill to amend section 334 (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940, approved October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1156-1157; 8 U. S. C. 734); without amendment (Rept. No. 255). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MASON: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 388. A bill to amend section 201 (g) of the Nationality Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1138-1139; 8 U. S. C. 601); without amendment (Rept. No. 256). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 434. A bill to provide that nationals of the United States shall not lose their nationality by reason of voting under legal compulsion in a foreign state; without amendment (Rept. No. 257). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Af-H. R. 2013. A bill to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended; without amendment (Rept. 259). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 167. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 2023, a bill to continue Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, increase its borrowing power, revise the basis of the annual ap-praisal of its assets, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 267). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. WEAVER: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1270. A bill to provide for an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the Court of Claims in a suit instituted by George A. Carden and Anderson T. Herd; without amendment (Rept. No. 258). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARRETT of Pennsylvania: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 268. A bill for the relief of Filip Nicola Lazarevich; without amendment (Rept. No. 260). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARRETT of Pennsylvania: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 816. A bill for the relief of Morris Burstein and Jennie Burstein; without amendment (Rept. No. 261). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARRETT of Pennsylvania: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 271. A bill for the relief of Eleanor McCloskey, also known as Evelyn Mary Mikalauskas; without amendment (Rept. No. 262). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 840. A bill for the relief of Toby Lena Rosenberg, alias Maria Louisa Nasco, alias Alejandro Nasco Echegaray; without amendment (Rept. No. 263). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 846. A bill for the relief of the alien Michael Soldo; with amendment (Rept. No. 264). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Committee on Immigra-

tion and Naturalization. H. R. 1402. A bill for the relief of certain Basque aliens; with-out amendment (Rept. No. 265). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MASON: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 269. A bill for the relief of Charles Molnor; without amend-ment (Rept. No. 266). Referred to the Com-mittee of the Whole House.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of New Mexico:

H. R. 2491. A bill to increase the maximum monthly payment made by States to individuals for old-age assistance which will be matched by the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BECKWORTH:

H. R. 2492. A bill to permit direct sales of surplus property consisting of vehicles and small machinery to veterans for their use in earning a livelihood, and to give veterans a preference for 10 days in the purchase of such property; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

H.R. 2493. A bill to permit direct sales of surplus property consisting of vehicles and small machinery to farmers for their use in earning a livelihood, and to give farmers a preference for 10 days in the purchase of such property; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. GREEN:

H.R. 2494. A bill authorizing appointments to the United State Military Academy and the United States Naval Academy of sons of members of the land or naval forces of the United States who were killed in action or have died of wounds or injuries received, or disease contracted, in active service during World War No. 2; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H.R. 2495. A bill to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H. R. 2496. A bill to prohibit use of the mails or instrumentalities of interstate commerce for the sale or delivery of certain fabrics or materials containing explosive substances; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):
H.R. 2497. A bill to improve salary and
wage administration in the Federal service; to provide pay for overtime and for night and holiday work; to amend the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. NEELY:

H.R. 2498. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants to the I now quote from the Japanese commentator, Yasua Yamida, who told our troops via the Tokyo radio in 1943:

There is no doubt that Robert McCormick is an extremely charming character. I think America today needs many more dynamic characters like this Chicago veteran.

Thank God that the great majority of American newspapers are as devoted to the cause of America—to the winning of this war—to the defeat of our enemies—to a devotion to true freedom of press—as any of us in this land. Thank God there are only a few newspaper publishers whose praises are beamed by Tokyo and Berlin to our troops overseas.

That is why when, on February 19, the Chicago Tribune, with its fellow Axis helpers, the New York Daily News and the Washington Times-Herald, published another of its "secret documents" we may be shocked but not surprised. Publication of secret Army regulations relating to handling of personnel whose loyalty is suspected could only have been intended to reveal to internal enemies the methods by which our Army Intelligence Service ferrets out those who are disloyal. It could only have been intended to tell those under suspicion the full story of the manner by which the War Department discovers their anti-war and anti-American activities. It could only have been to arm them so that they could more easily avoid the traps which our intelligence system sets for them.

And, like Hitler, the Tribune cloaked its own treason in a righteous indignation that the Army's procedure might result in the commissioning of Communists. The Tribune, of course, is well aware of how Hitler used the Red scare to spread fear, mistrust, and suspicion. The Tribune editors have read history. They know that it was the flames of the Reichstag fire and the fear of communism which this Hitler-faked "Red plot" created, which burned the Nazi swastika into the heart of Germany and plunged the world into war.

The indefensible disclosure of secret security procedure by Tokyo's Chicago darling has unfortunately been followed on the House floor itself by imputations of treason or near treason to the War Department; and the regulations whose purpose was to make for a more accurate sifting of loyal from disloyal personnel have been represented here and to the country as though their purpose were the opposite, as though the War Department were ordering the elevation of disloyal persons into position from which they could sabotage the war and undermine the security and liberty of our country.

It is hardly necessary to state on this floor that the War Department, under that great American patriot, the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, and under America's Commander in Chief and greatest world statesman, our President, is not guilty of treason or of anything like or near treason.

It is regrettable that the heat of expressing a point of view in opposition to a War Department directive should have given rise to such language on the floor of this body.

What the War Department actually did was, after long study of relevant legal precedents and theory, and after a tremendous experience in the handling of inductees suspected of disloyalty, to issue on December 30, 1944, the simple clarifying directive:

The basic consideration is not the propriety of the individual's opinions, but his loyalty to the United States.

That was all, just a plain, clear statement of the fundamental American truth that thought is free in this country.

Implementing this basic consideration, the directive continues:

Membership in, or strict adherence to the doctrines of, the Communist Party organization is evidence that the individual is subject to influences that may tend to divide his lovalty. However, many good soldiers are subto conflicting influences. Such influences must be appraised in the light of the individual's entire record. No action will be taken under the reference letter that is predicated (n membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist Party unless there is a specific finding that the individual involved has a loyalty to the Communist Party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States. No such finding should be based on the mere fact that the individual's views on various social questions have been the same as the views which the Communist Party may have advanced. Except in clear cases, no action should be taken against persons who are being trained for combat assignments and have demonstrated a high degree of ability to serve the United States in that manner, including a willingness to accept combat duty.

Testifying before the subcommittee of the House Military Affairs Committee, the Honorable John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, said:

The Army has not knowingly appointed as officers any individuals who seek the overthrow of the United States Government, or whose disloyalty has been otherwise established, and it does not propose to do so. The Army has not knowingly assigned to any sensitive duty any individual who seeks such objectives, or who is justly suspected for any other reason of any disaffection, and does not propose to do so. The War Department has not issued any instructions under which any such appointment or assignment could be properly made, and does not propose to do so.

#### Again, he testified:

The keystone of the entire structure of the Army is loyalty, and its preservation is a matter which must be handled with the greatest care. It must be done with vigilance but if procedures become overzealous and unfair, reactions set in which are detrimental to the Army and to the causes for which our armies take the field. It has been extremely gratifying that, out of the thousands of cases investigated by the Army, only a very small number of persons who have come into the service have been found to be disloyal or have been even suspected of disaffection.

#### And a third time, he emphasized:

The basic consideration remained, as before, the individual's loyalty to the United States of America, a loyalty to be measured not in terms of allegiance to any one alien belief, such as communism, but in terms of all beliefs that might supersede his devotion to America.

The fair and reasonable application of loyalty tests to Army personnel is not just a "matter of justice to the individual," the Secretary continued, but neces-

sary also "to avoid the obvious possibility that action on inconclusive proof might afford a ready means for numerous persons, without just cause, to avoid the hazards of combat service. At a time when the Nation's critical need was for expanding manpower, such an escape corridor was intolerable."

As long as this question has been opened, it should also be understood that the Army confronted some serious legal problems as to whether Communists actually do advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in Schneiderman against United States (320 U. S. 118 (1943)), testified Mr. McCloy:

Stated that it had never passed on the question of whether the Communist Party advocated the overthrow of our form of government by force.

#### And he added:

The language of the opinion cast such further doubt upon the administrative finding made by the Attorney General in 1942, \* \* \* as to render it inadvisable thereafter for the Army to rely thereon as a basis for exclusion from military service. Indeed, the Judge Advocate General of the Army in an opinion to the staff, called attention to the dictum in this case and the doubt it cast on the prior ruling.

But-

#### The Assistant Secretary continued-

beyond any questions of legal theory, a study of the question and our experience convinced me that we were not on sound ground in our investigations when we placed our emphasis solely on Communist affiliation.

With such emphasis, investigations were prone to drift off into questions of alleged attendance, in the years before the man came into the Army, at meetings alleged to have been Communist meetings or at meetings of so-called "Reds," whereas the obvious need was to determine whether the man actually was loyal or disloyal to the United States in the light of all the circumstances which could be adduced.

A man's willingness, and in many cases his eagerness, to train himself for and to engage in hazardous employment in the Army, the testimony of his commanding officer, the judgment of his fellow soldiers after observation and questioning of the man himself all afforded in my judgment more re-liable material on the issue of the man's loyalty than the generally doubtful evidence of membership in an organization or attendance at meetings alleged to have been Communist. Long experience in handling cases of this character finally convinced the War Department that mere sympathy with a given ideology or suspected membership in a given organization neither legally nor as a matter of abstract justice furnished sufficient justification for adverse action. It concluded that the only sound, though difficult, solution of this problem was to base action on the attitude and actions of the individual rather than on his alleged connections. For that reason a comprehensive restatement of the Army's basic policy was issued on February 5, 1944, which, without specific reference to any ideology, made unquestioned loyalty to the Government of the United States on the part of the individual the yardstick.

The concluding portions of Secretary McCloy's testimony is worth the serious attention of every Member of this House. He said:

Certainly neither this, nor any antecedent instruction on this subject has resulted in placing any person who, after thorough in-

#### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE

March 6, 1945.—Committed to the Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Bloom, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

#### REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 2013]

Ι

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for a period of 1 year an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment, and recommend that the bill be passed.

#### II

This bill amends subsection (c) of section 3, and subsection (b) of section 6 of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941 (Public Law 11, 77th Cong.), amended March 11, 1943 (Public Law 9, 78th Cong.), and May 17, 1944 (Public Law 304, 78th Cong.), and in accordance with clause 2a, rule 13, there is inserted in the report those subsections of sections 3 and 6 of that act (the language proposed to be repealed enclosed in black brackets and the amendatory language in italics), which are as follows:

Subsection (c) of section 3, Public Law 11, Seventy-seventh Con-

gress, as amended:

(c) After [June 30, 1945] June 30, 1946, or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before [June 30, 1945] June 30, 1946, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a); except that until [July 1, 1948] July 1, 1949, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before [July 1, 1945] July 1, 1946, or before the passage of such concurrent resolution, whichever is the earlier.

Subsection (b) of section 6, Public Law 11, Seventy-seventh Congress, as amended:

(b) All money and all property which is converted into moncy received under section 3 from any government shall, with the approval of the Director of the Budget, revert to the respective appropriation or appropriations out of which funds were expended with respect to the defense article or defense information for which such consideration is received, and shall be available for expenditure for the purpose for which such expended funds were appropriated by law, during the fiscal year in which such funds are received and the ensuing fiscal year; but in no event shall any funds so received be available for expenditure after **L**June 30, 1948 June 30, 1949.

#### III

The original Lend-Lease Act had a life of 2 years. Thereafter the act has been extended for 1-year periods, in order that the Congress might be given full opportunity to review each year the administration of the act. The committee once again recommends that the act

be extended for an additional year.

Today, the armed forces of this country and our allies are interlocked in combat with powerful enemy forces on German soil and are preparing to launch new and even more powerful offensives against the main Japanese forces on the Asiatic mainland and the homeland of Japan. The sending of war supplies to our allies to enable them to bring the full weight of their own manpower and resources to bear against the common enemy is an integral part of our country's war effort. Through lend-lease American weapons and other war supplies are being used by our allies to defeat our enemies. The extension of the Lend-Lease Act by the Congress will save American and other Allied lives and speed immeasurably the day of final victory.

#### IV. HEARINGS

H. R. 2013 was introduced in the House of Representatives on February 7, 1945. In considering the extension of the Lcnd-Lease Act, the committee undertook a full examination into the manner in which the act has been administered. Hearings were held over a period of 4 weeks. The committee received testimony in public or executive session from the Sccretary of War, Henry L. Stimson; the Foreign Economic Administrator, Leo T. Crowley; the Deputy Foreign Economic Administrator, Oscar Cox; Assistant Sccretary of the Navy, H. Struve Hensel; Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Acheson; the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration and Chairman of the Maritime Commission, Admiral Emory S. Land; Col. George A. Spiegelberg, Chief, Procurement Control Section, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces; Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of the General Electric Co., formerly special representative of the Foreign Economic Administration and Minister in London; James M. Landis, dean of the Harvard Law School, formerly special representative of the Foreign Economic Administration and Minister in Cairo; and Lt. Col. William S. Culbertson, United States Army, special ambassador for the State Department and Chairman of the Special Economic Mission in north Africa, France, Italy, and the Middle East (Mediterranean arca) for the United States Commercial Company. All of the witnesses testified strongly to the necessity for extending the Lcnd-Lcase Act. Unanimously they emphasized the

indispensable role of the system of lend-lease and reverse lend-lease in coordinating and unifying the military strategy and war supply of the United Nations into an effective integrated whole. Each witness, in terms of his own agency's role in our country's war effort, testified to the vital assistance of lend-lease and reverse lend-lease in the coordinated and successful operations of the Allied ground, naval, and air forces and the merchant marine. No witness opposed the extension of the Lend-Lease Act.

The committee was materially aided in its appraisal of the contribution of the Lend-Lease Act to Allied military successes by up-to-date detailed information on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease submitted to the committee by the witnesses, as well as by the quarterly reports which have been submitted by the President or on his direction to the Congress pursuant to the Lend-Lease Act. Most of the information provided to the committee will be available to the Congress as a whole and to the public as a record of the administration of the lend-lease program. Certain additional information was submitted to the committee which for reasons of military security cannot be made a part

of the record.

The committee considered at length the lend-lease agreement recently concluded with the French Government. The purpose of this agreement is to provide the supplies and services needed by France to mobilize and fully use her resources and manpower to hasten the defeat of the common enemy. Although we may have hopes for an early end of the war in Europe, our military plans must be based on the expectation that the war will continue for some time to come. French ports, transportation facilities, and industries are playing a vital role in support of our offensives. The French agreement, concluded at a late stage of the war in Europe, protects United States interests by determining some of the obligations of France in advance of the war's conclusion. Accordingly, the French agreement provides for payment by France to the United States, over a period of years, for locomotives, freight cars, machinery, and other equipment essential to the prosecution of the war but having a residual peacetime use. The French have also undertaken to accept and pay, over a period of years, for any supplies included in the agreement which may be produced too late to be of use for the war, thereby minimizing our financial liabilities in liquidating the lend-lease program and reducing our surplus problem at the end of the war. to the United States of such a liquidation arrangement were contemplated by Congress in the enactment of section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act, which provides for a 3-year period during which contracts with lend-lease governments might be wound up. The agreement specifically reserves the right of the United States to withhold supplies whenever it is in our national interest to do so.

The French lend-lease agreement is in keeping with the administration of the Lend-Lease Act as a war-supply measure. Post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation problems abroad, with which the Lend-Lease Act does not deal, require separate consideration by the Congress. Agreements entered into with foreign governments under the Lend-Lease Act must be for the procurement and transfer of supplies for the purpose of furthering the prosecution of the war against Germany and Japan. When the war has been won, lend-lease should

end and be liquidated as promptly and efficiently as possible in accordance with the intention of Congress and the provisions of the Lend-

Lease Act.

The facts brought before your committee at its hearings indicate that it is more vital now than ever before to continue the Lend-Lease Act as an essential part of the combined Allied organization for waging war. As Secretary Stimson observed, "We are at the crisis of the war, but we are not yet at its finish." Swiftly repeated and more powerful blows must be struck at the enemy if we are not to lose the fruits of our past efforts and delay the day of final victory. The continuation of lend-lease is indispensable to bringing the maximum power of all the United Nations successfully to bear against the common enemy.

#### V. LEND-LEASE AID

From the date of the approval of the Lend-Lease Act on March 11, 1941, through December 31, 1944, the total lend-lease aid provided by the United States amounted to \$35,382,000,000. About 44 percent of this aid was furnished during 1944. In addition to direct lend-lease aid, war supplies amounting to \$788,000,000 have been consigned during this period to United States commanding generals in the field for subsequent transfer to our allies under lend-lease. These sums constitute the total of goods transferred and services rendered to our allies under the Lend-Lease Act by all agencies of the Government.

Ninety-eight percent of all lend-lease aid has gone to our four major fighting allies—the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, China, and France. Although our allies have produced by far the major portion of their requirements for war material, the weapons and other war supplies provided under lend-lease have enabled our allies to utilize their full manpower and resources for war purposes, and have tremendously increased the mobility and fire power of their forces in the combined offensives against our common enemies.

Munitions constitute by far the largest item in lend-lease transfers. During 1944 they amounted to 53 percent of all goods transferred during the year. Munitions sent under lend-lease have accounted for about 14 percent of our total munitions production, and sales of munitions to our allies have accounted for another 2 percent. Thus, 84 percent of all our munitions production has been retained for

the use of our own armed forces.

Petroleum products sent under lend-lease in 1944, consisting primarily of aviation and motor gasoline, amounted to 6 percent of total lend-lease transfers during that year. A large portion of the lend-lease petroleum shipments to the United Kingdom have been used by our own ground, air, and naval forces in the offensives against Germany. Lend-lease petroleum shipments for use by our allies have accounted for less than one-tenth of United States production.

War equipment and other industrial products—consisting of such items as signal, quartermaster, chemical warfare, and engineer equipment and supplies; drugs and chemicals; metals and minerals; railroad and road-building equipment; machine tools and other equipment for war production—amounted to 24 percent of the total goods transferred under lend-lease in 1944. These supplies have

added to the mobility and striking power of the Allied offensives and have enabled our allies to produce weapons of war in their own factories, thereby relieving the strain upon our own resources and

manpower in the United States.

Foodstuffs and other agricultural products constituted 17 percent of all lend-lease transfers during 1944. Lend-lease food supplies in many cases have meant the difference between a starvation diet and the minimum essential rations for the soldiers and war workers of our allies. Lend-lease shipments of food, important as they have been to our allies, accounted for only 8 percent of the total food production in this country during 1944. A one-third increase in American food production over pre-war years has enabled the United States to take care of the tremendous needs of the American armed forces and to supplement the scanty rations of our allies, while at the same time providing more food to each civilian in the country, on the average, than he had before the war.

Total services rendered to our allies under lend-lease through December 31, 1944, amounted to \$3,972,000,000, while the value of goods transferred was \$31,410,000,000. Services include primarily the repair and servicing in this country of Allied men-of-war and merchant ships, the provision of ocean and inland transportation for lend-lease goods, the construction of factory and shippard facilities in this country for the production of war supplies for ourselves as well as for our allies, and the training in this country of pilots and other personnel

for United Nations air forces.

#### VI. LEND-LEASE ON THE WAR FRONTS

The tremendous offensives launched against the enemy by the United Nations over the past year and the liberation of millions of peoples from enemy subjugation, have been achieved through an effective fighting partnership of all the United Nations. Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease have been the supply mechanism by which the full manpower and resources of the allies have been mobilized in gigantic and coordinated movements covering many vast theaters of combat all over the world. Without this mechanism no such results could have been effected.

#### THE WESTERN FRONT

Today American forces are manning the center section of the western front. The right flank of that front is held by the French Army and the left flank by the powerful British Second Army and Canadian First Army. The United States has supplied through lend-lease substantially all of the equipment for eight French divisions and 300 supporting French units aggregating in all some 225,000 men, in addition to a French Air Force of about 15,000 men. During the past year of operations certain of these French divisions fought superbly by the side of our American troops in the difficult campaign up through the Italian peninsula. Subsequently, these French troops played a heroic and indispensable part in the landing in southern France in support of the allied invasion of Normandy and in the triumphant march up the Rhone Valley to a successful junction with General Eisenhower's forces on the German frontier. Without these French divisions the American forces alone could not have carried through that campaign

with any comparable saving of losses on our side. Now that France and Belgium have been liberated, the British have assumed responsibility for rearming Belgian forces and the United States will furnish the arms for an additional 8 French divisions, as well as an additional 60

combat and service units for the French Air Force.

The equipment and supplies furnished under lend-lease to the British forces have been of vital assistance in their ground and air offensives against Germany during the past critical year of warfare. Shipments of lend-lease supplies to the United Kingdom up to December 1, 1944, amounted to \$11,332,000,000, equivalent to 43 percent of lend-lease shipments to all of our allies since the beginning of the program. The peak of the movement was reached in May 1944, just prior to D-day, when exports of lend-lease goods valued at \$560,000,000 were shipped to United Kingdom ports. These lend-lease shipments played a vital role in the softening up assaults by the British and American air forces on Nazi Germany, in the production by British factories of enormous quantities of guns, tanks, and ammunition for use on the Normandy beaches, and in the striking power of the British mechanized forces which have fought so valiantly alongside American forces in the campaign of France and on the German frontier.

Almost one-half the total of all lend-lease shipments to the United Kingdom has consisted of munitions, valued at \$5,493,000,000. The largest single item of lend-lease aid has been 8,500 planes, together

with aircraft engines and parts, totaling \$1,965,000,000.

#### THE EASTERN FRONT

Lend-lease shipments to the Soviet Union up to December 1, 1944, amounted to \$7,437,000,000, which was 28 percent of total lend-lease shipments to all countries. The large quantities of munitions sent under lend-lease to support the great Soviet offensives have comprised the largest single item in the Soviet lend-lease program. They total \$3,739,000,000, or one-half the value of lend-lease materials of all kinds shipped thus far to the Soviet Union. The United States has sent 12,000 airplanes to the Soviet Union, more than to any other ally

under the lend-lease program.

The United States has not only furnished the Soviet Union with vast quantities of modern weapons, but on her request and to aid her long lines of communication, the United States has sent large quantities of road vehicles and railway equipment. Up to December 1, 1944, we had sent to the Soviet Union under lend-lease 362,000 motor vehicles, two-fifths of which were shipped in the first 11 months of 1944. These vehicles and equipment have substantially served to make the Russian Army mobile in its vital winter compaign through Poland and into eastern Germany. On large portions of the present Russian front American vehicles are carrying to the troops more than half of their supplies.

In addition, the United States had sent to the Soviet Union up to December 1, 1944, 1,045 locomotives, 7,160 flat cars, 1,000 dump cars, 100 tank cars, 478,000 tons of railroad rails and 110,000 tons of railroad wheels and axles to help meet the tremendous demand of

wartime transportation over vast areas for the Soviet armies.

#### THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Lend-lease is playing its part, too, in the drive on Germany from the south, where American and British ground forces are fighting with the soldiers of many other United Nations. The United States has equipped some 18,000 men who are fighting bravely in the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in Italy. And American and British supplies have been pooled to equip the forces of France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, and India that are now engaging in Italy an estimated 27 Nazi divisions that would otherwise be opposing American and other Allied troops on the western and eastern fronts.

Total lend-lease supplies to the Mediterranean theater of war, ineluding Africa and the Middle East, have amounted to \$3,524,000,000, equivalent to 13.5 percent of lend-lease shipments to all theaters up to December 1, 1944. Nearly 75 percent of the supplies sent to this area under lend-lease are munitions primarily for the French and British forces who played such an important part in driving the Nazis out of Africa and the Mediterranean and in the liberation of southern France. Today their principal role is in support of the Allied forces fighting in Italy.

#### THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Lend-lease aid to the republies of Latin America, for the defense of this hemisphere and the vital sea lanes to Africa and Europe, is limited to weapons of war and other supplies having a military end use. No civilian supplies have been sent under lend-lease to Latin America. Lend-lease shipments to these countries have amounted to \$207,700,000 up to December 1, 1944, or about three-quarters of 1 percent of total shipments to all nations. More than 44 percent of the supplies have consisted of airplanes and airplane parts. Brazil has received more than half of all lend-lease aid sent to Latin America. With the ships and planes furnished under lend-lease, Brazil has been able to take over a large part of the antisubmarine patrol in the South Atlantic, as Mexico and other Central American republies have done in the Caribbean, thus releasing United States naval and air forces for use in other areas.

#### THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

Lend-lease shipments to Australia and New Zealand up to December 1, 1944, totaled \$1,149,000,000. About 58 percent of the total eonsisted of munitions. With these and other munitions manufactured in their own factories, Australian and New Zealand troops, naval units, and air forces have fought alongside American forces in New Guinea, New Britain, and the Solomons. While American troops have been securing a firm base in the Philippines and Volcanos, Australian and New Zealand forces, and other United Nations forces also equipped with lend-lease weapons, are now doing most of the fighting in the Southwest Pacific.

The United States has also sent under lend-lease to Australia and New Zealand items such as fertilizers, insecticides, and farm machinery to increase food production, timplate to use in the canning of food for shipment to our armed forces in the Pacific theater, cotton for the production of military uniforms, tents, and surgical dressings for United States and other Allied forces, and marine engines for installation in Australian-built hulls for amphibious eampaigns such as the invasion of the Philippines. A large proportion of the goods produced with the aid of these lend-lease war-production supplies to these two countries is being furnished to our forces as reverse lend-lease and without payment by the United States. The value of food received on reverse lend-lease from Australia and New Zealand by our armed forces in the Pacific is 16 times the value of the farm machinery furnished under lend-lease to these two countries.

#### CHINA-BURMA-INDIA

Lend-lease shipments to China and India up to December 1, 1944, have amounted to \$1,760,000,000. More than 43 percent of this was sent in the first 11 months of 1944. Of the total, about 66 percent eonsisted of munitions, for use by Chinese, Indian, and British forces in the China-Burma-India theater.

India is not only a strategie base of military operations in this theater, but is also a major supply center and arsenal for the war against Japan. Because of transportation difficulties in getting supplies into China, most of the lend-lease supplies sent to the China-Burma-India theater have gone no farther than India. The major portion has been used in the fighting in Burma and India by British and Indian troops, and in the production in Indian factories of weapons and supplies for American and other United Nations forces. India has provided the Allied armies in this theater with small arms and other munitions, and with clothing, shoes, tents, parachutes, and other textile products.

India is also the base for the supply routes to China, which had until recently been cut off by land and sea since the Burma Road was closed in April 1942. Since that time an increasing volume of supplies has been flown by air into China "over the hump." The quantity of supplies moving over this route alone has already more than doubled the 15,000 tons per month that onee moved over the old Burma Road. Recently combined American, British, and Chinese forces have opened a new land route to China, running from Ledo in India through northern Burma where it joins the old Burma Road, thus breaking at last the blockade of China by land. Already badly needed military supplies are moving over the road for use against the Japanese on the Chinese mainland. Paralleling the new land route a 2,000-mile pipe line is being constructed under lend-lease to bring gasoline and oil for China's transportation system and aviation gasoline for the Chinese and American airmen now attacking the Japanese from bases in China.

These three routes—the air route, the land route, and the pipe line—established through eombined American, British, Chinese, and Indian manpower and resources—will help to restore the Chinese to a position where, after 7 long years of fighting for her independence and the freedom of the world, she ean, together with the other United Nations, take the offensive to drive the Japanese from the Chinese mainland.

#### VII. REVERSE LEND-LEASE AID

The principal benefit that the United States receives from our allies is the speeding of victory over our common enemies with the help of the supplies and services we provide under lend-lease. In addition, however, we receive from our allies a very substantial benefit in the supplies and services they provide from their own resources under reverse lend-lease, without payment by the United States, to American ground, naval, and air forces, and merchant marine in all theaters of war. Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease are not two sides of a financial transaction. They are a system of combined war supply whose sole purpose is to make the most effective use against the enemy of the combined resources of the United Nations. The United States, by virtue of its vast industrial eapacity, has been called upon to give most in production toward winning the war. Our major fighting allies have given more in lives and the destruction of their homelands. Nevertheless, while our allies have required most of what they produce for their own fighting forces, they have drawn generously upon their own resources to provide American forces with vitally needed supplies and services.

Over \$4,000,000,000 worth of reverse lend-lease supplies and services has been received by the United States from our allies without payment by us. The major share of reverse lend-lease aid has been received from the British Commonwealth. Up to October 1, 1944, this aid totaled almost \$4,000,000,000, of which \$1,800,000,000 was received in the first 9 months of 1944. Expenditures by the British Commonwealth for reverse lend-lease aid to the United States are as follows:

	January to September 1943	Cumulative to Oct. 1, 1944
United Kingdom	\$1, 263, 000, 000 282, 480, 000 57, 953 000 210, 687, 000	\$2, 826, 000, 000 644, 844, 000 149, 839, 000 317, 440, 000
Total	1, 814, 120, 000	3, 938, 123, 000

United States forces based in the British Isles have received 12,102,000 ship-tons of supplies and equipment as reverse lend-lease through the end of 1944. Three-fourths of this amount were provided in the last year, as American forces in the British Isles increased in number in preparation for the offensives on the continent.

The largest single item of reverse lend-lease aid was the construction of air bases at a cost of \$440,000,000 for the use of the Eighth and Ninth United States Air Forces in their air offensives against Germany. Other examples of reverse lend-lease aid are the steel floats and piers built in Britain for the synthetic harbor used by American forces on the Normandy beaches; millions of jerricans for gasoline and large numbers of Bailey Bridges for use by American troops on the continent; 1,000,000 spark plugs for American bombers; the transportation of hundreds of thousands of American troops on British ships; and hospitals and barracks for the use of American troops in Britain.

The most important single item of reverse lend-lease aid received from Australia and New Zealand is food for the American forces in the Pacific. By October 1, 1944, reverse lend-lease food from these two countries amounted to \$213,000,000 and the food program is being increased to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of our

forces in the Pacific theater.

In addition, these two countries and India have provided under reverse lend-lease without payment by the United States, air bases, barracks, hospitals, transportation, clothing, and other vital war supplies and services for United States forces. American B-29 Superfortresses operate from air bases in India provided under reverse lend-lease.

The value of reverse lend-lease aid from our other allies has not been of the same magnitude. China and Russia have required all that they could produce besides what we could send them for fighting the invaders on their soil. France and Belgium, however, which have since their liberation become major bases of operation for the Allied offensives on the western front, are contributing in increasing volume to the United Nations war supply pool. Both of these countries have great industries which suffered relatively slight damage. France alone has undertaken to produce for the Allied armies for delivery by June 30, 1945, an estimated \$200,000,000 of war supplies, including uniforms, tents, heavy-duty tires, and repair parts for military vehicles. In addition they have already provided the use of thousands of buildings for barracks and the services of thousands of French civilians under reverse lend-lease. As France and Belgium receive the raw materials and equipment needed to revive their war industries, they will be able to produce more war supplies for the United Nations armed forces.

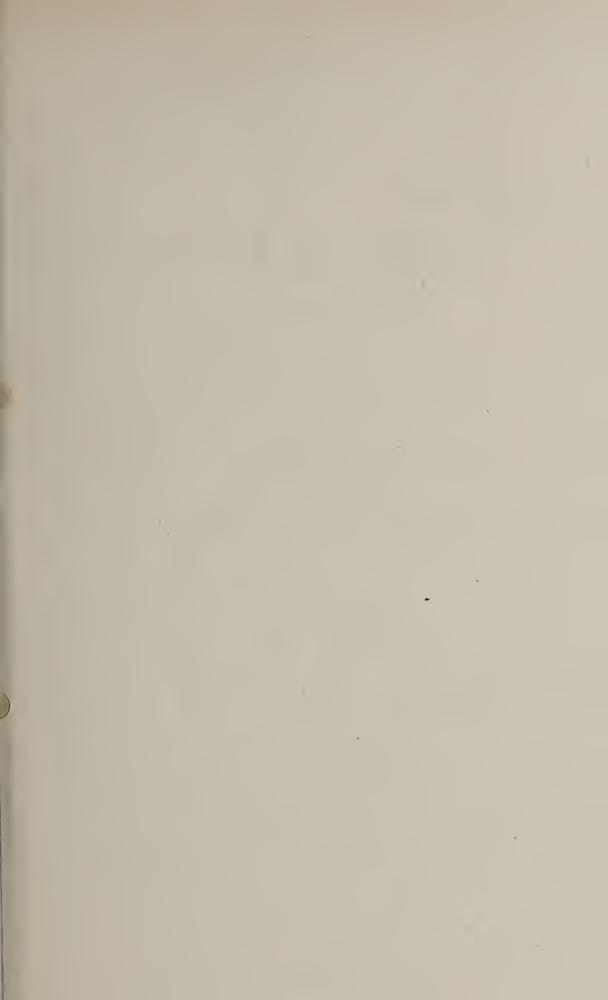
#### VIII. Conclusion

Military considerations are the paramount and controlling factor in the provision of all lend-lease supplies. We provide lend-lease aid to strengthen the combined Allied war effort, thereby aiding ourselves and shortening the war. The continuation of this aid is more vital now than ever before to launch the offensives which will lead to victory.

It is unthinkable to this committee, that the lend-lease part of the United States war effort should stop at this critical and historic moment in our fight for our own independence and the freedom of the world. American boys and the boys of our allies are fighting shoulder to shoulder on German soil with the massed forces of an enemy still capable, if given the opportunity, of powerful blows and resistance that can prolong the war and increase the heavy toll of Allied lives. On the other side of the world, the Allies have not yet engaged the main Japanese forces on the Chinese mainland and the homeland of Japan. The resources of all the United Nations must continue to be fully mobilized to deliver successfully the new and more powerful blows that will be required to defeat the common enemy.

Lend-lease is an investment by the American people in a speedy and complete United Nations victory. To date, 15 percent of the total United States war expenditures has been spent for lend-lease aid. The committee believes that no comparable portion of our war outlay has been more important to Allied unity and the combined war effort. So long as the war continues, the Lend-Lease Act must be continued

as a military necessity of the first importance.





# Union Calendar No. 68

79TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2013

[Report No. 259]

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 6, 1945

Mr. Bloom introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

March 6, 1945

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

# A BILL

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

- Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That subsection (c) of section 3 of an Act to promote the
- 4 defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,
- 5 as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1945"
- 6 wherever it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof
- 7 "June 30, 1946"; by striking out "July 1, 1948" and in-
- 8 serting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1949"; and by striking out
- 9 "July 1, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1946";

2 striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof

3 "June 30, 1949".

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 201

Union Calendar No. 68

[Report No. 259]

A BILL

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

By Mr. Bloom

February 6, 1945
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs
March 6, 1945

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

## OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Issued March 9, 1945, for actions of Thursday, March 8, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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#### HOUSE

1. DEBT LIMIT. Passed, 356-4, without amendment H.R. 2404, to increase the U.S. debt limit to \$300,000,000,000 (pp. 1962-89). Rejected, 26-71, Rep. Rich's (Pa.) amendment to reduce the \$300,000,000,000 to \$280,000,000,000 (pp. 1986-8).

Rep. Doughton, N.C., discussed the bill's provisions and gave figures on probable post-war U.S. expenditures (pp. 1962-6). Rep. Rich, Pa., urged economy in Federal expenditures (p. 1963). Rep. Jenkins, Ohio, criticized "wasteful" expenditures, stated, "If all these /Government/ agencies were compelled to make public statements as to their financial obligations, I am sure millions of of dollars could be saved by the Government every month," and inserted a list of 41 agencies, including CCC, FCA agencies, and FCIC (p. 1970). Rep. Dondero, Mich. criticized OPA's proposed subsidy payments to milk producers (p. 1976). Rep. Vorys, Ohio, criticized the proposed use of lend-lease for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction (p. 1982). Rep. Patman, Tex., stated that he did not fear inflation, in spite of the "huge debt," because of the stabilization and price control program (pp. 1982-3).

- 2. LEND-LEASE. Rop. Chiperfield, Ill., submitted the minority views of the Foreign Affairs Committee on H.R. 2013, to extend the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act for 1 year (H.Rept. 259, pt. II) (p. 1993).
  - Rules Committee submitted a resolution for the consideration of this bill, H.R.2013 (pp. 1990, 1993).
- 3. PUBLICITY. Rep. Taber, N.Y., criticized Federal publicity expenditures, stating that "there are 100,000 of those people on the pay roll, costing \$7,500 each,... at the cost of...\$750,000,000 a year" (p. 1960).
- 4. HOUSING. Rules Committee reported, without amendment, H.Res. 62, to authorize the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee to investigate the progress of the defense housing program (pp. 1989, 1993).

- 5. FLOOD CONTROL. Reps. Jenkins, Ohio, and Ellis, W. Va., discussed the benefits felt from the flood control projects in the Ohio River Valley and Rep. Rankin, Miss., urged favorable consideration of his bill H. R. 1824, to create regional authorities "to control these devastating floods, provide navigation, and to develop water power" (p. 1959).
- 6. REPORTS. Rep. Cochran, Mo., received unanimous consent to omit the printings of the 64 statutes affected in the committee report on H. R. 2504, to repeal certain laws requiring reports, among which are ones by the FS and AAA (p. 1958).
- 7. PRICE CONTROL; RATIONING; WAR AGENCIES. Received an Oreg. Legislature memorial favoring the termination of OPA and other war agencies as soon as possible (p. 1994).

#### SENATE

8. NOMINATION. Sen. Byrd, Va., inserted his statement opposing the nomination of Henry A. Wallace to be Secretary of Commerce and a Baltimore Sun article which discusses the proposal to transfer the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Federal Power Commission to the Commerce Department (pp. 1926-7).

Sen. Bailey, N. C., commended Jesse Jones administration of RFC and the

Commerce Department (pp. 1929-35).

- 9. APPROPRIATION. Committee received consent to report "two bills to the Senate tomorrow" (Mar. 9) (p. 1955).
- 10. MANPOWER. Passed, 63-16, with amendments, the manpower bill, H. R. 1752 (pp.1923, 1935-55). The bill, as passed, includes provisions as follows: (1) directs WMC to establish management labor committees, consisting of representatives of labor, management, and where appropriate, agriculture for consultation purposes; (2) places responsibility for the coordination of the activities of all departments and agencies of the Government responsible for production, procurement, and manpower in the War Mobilization and Reconversion Director; (3) authorizes employment regulations; (4) authorizes WMC to pay workers' rights when they leave their regular jobs to take war jobs; (6) protects veterans' reemployment rights if they take a war job instead of their prewar job; (7) reaffirms the Tydings amendment providing for the deferment of essential farm labor; and (8) terminates employment regulations and all other regulations, orders, or requirements under this Act when the war ends or on June 30, 1946 whichever is the earlier date.

Agreed to amendments by:

Sen. Ball (Minn.), imposing a one-year jail sentence and/or a \$10,000 fine on employers who violate WMC's employment regulations (pp. 1943-4).

Sen. Taft (Ohio.), as modified, limiting the authority of regulations, orders, etc. issued under this Act to June 30, 1946 (pp. 1944-5).

Rejected an amendment by Sen. Aiken, Vt. (for Sen. Langer, N. Dak.), providing for a capital tax (pp. 1951-2).

- 11. EDUCATION. Received U. S. Education Commissioner's report on the education and training of defense workers for the period from Oct. 1 to Dec. 31, 1944. To Education and Labor Committee. (p. 1921.)
- 12. LABOR. Received National War Labor Board's report on wage stabilization for Nov. 1944. (p. 1921.)

the state of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 60) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolution and shall continue not to exceed 2 days to be equally divided and controlled by the chairmna and the ranking minority member of mna and the ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the joint resolution shall be read for amendment un-der the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same back to the House with such amendments as shall have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amendment's thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

#### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE ACT

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 175) which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed 4 hours to be equaliy divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the resolution for amendment, the committee shall rise and report the same back to the House with such amendments as shall have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bili and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 45 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record in three instances, and include in one a letter sent to me by Mr. Frank E. Lawrence, in another a very interesting article on Major General Littlejohn, and in the third an article on Henry H. Crompton.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial that appeared in the Washington Post of March 8.

Mr. FOGARTY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article that appeared in the Washington Post of March 7.

Mr. GATHINGS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an editorial.

Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include some excerpts.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record on the national debt bill and include some brief excerpts.

Mr. VURSELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter written to him by a former Member of the House, Mr. Calvin D. Johnson, together with a letter written by Mr. Johnson to Hon. James S. Byrnes, Director of the Office of War Mobilization.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial; and further, to extend his remarks and include a newspaper article.

#### PROGRAM FOR TOMORROW

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire what the legislative program is for tomorrow?

The SPEAKER. The rule and general debate on the Commodity Credit Corporation hill.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The

bill will not be read until Monday?

The SPEAKER. Only the first section of the bill will be read tomorrow.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday next, after the completion of business on the Speaker's desk and the conclusion of other special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

#### THE WALSH-KAISER SHIPYARD, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. Fogarry] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FOGARTY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. FØGARTY. Mr. Speaker, recently a Senator caused to be placed in the Record the contents of a letter which the Senator had received from one whom the Senator termed "an honest man." I have no reason to doubt the Senator's sincerity in so characterizing his friendbut I do question the gentleman's knowledge of the facts and I doubt sincerely that the gentleman expected or intended to do anything except vent some personal spite when he addressed the letter in question to the Senator.

Every man here has engaged in political campaigns. Every Member here is familiar with the type of mud slinging

to which some unscrupulous men will sink in order to satisfy a personal ambition. We are all familiar with crackpots—and it is to the credit of this House that rarely do the utterances of crackpots find their way into the official record of this legislative body. I have always found among my colleagues here a determination to first learn the facts, before giving publicity to unwarranted and unfounded accusations, such as are contained in the letter to which I have referred.

This letter, written by an unidentified person, is couched intentionally in such language as to give the impression that the Walsh-Kaiser shipyard in Providence is presently the hang-out of racketeers, bookmakers, and ne'er-do-wells; the yard is vastly overmanned, and that production there is at a standstill. This is the impression this undisclosed person would give of a shipyard working 24 hours a day—a shipyard that the coveted emblem of efficiency and production, the Maritime M awarded by the United States Maritime Commission. This letter, then, is not intended as an honest criticism of management at the yardbut is an attack on the Government which recognized the worth of the management and the laborers alike—it is an attack on the planners and the producers, almost all of whom are fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, of men who fight and die all over the world for the preservation of their country.

Directly contrary to the impression which this letter seeks to convey are the facts relating to this shipyard. Its accomplishments border on the astounding. It is a result of the country's frantic need for ships-of the country's determination to produce ships on a scale never before dreamed of. It is the result of the determination of men and women, who but a few years ago worked in clothing stores and markets, to learn to build ships, ships, ships. And the result of their labors is a credit to them and a credit to the State of Rhode Island. They need apologize to no man.

This shipyard was built out of a river and a hill. The river was pumped dry, and the hill was leveled. The shipyard started from scratch and fought to overcome obstacles which would long since have discouraged men with less tenacity.

The yard was started under the management of the Rheem Manufacturing Co. They built the ways, the fabrications shops, the storage facilities, spur tracks, and the usual appurtenances of such an enterprise.

The yard was taken over in 1942 by the Walsh-Kaiser Co., Inc., and from that day to this the story of the yard has been one steady program of increased production at lowered costs.

At the time the Walsh-Kaiser Co., Inc., assumed operation of the Providence Shipyard, in addition to coping with all the complex problems associated with the taking over and reorganizing of a shipyard in operation, the company had additional difficulties of constructing its facilities while building ships.

When the Walsh-Kaiser Co. first took over, the company acquired 5 Liberty ships in various stages of completion.

Milier, Nebr.

Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis.

Neely Norrell O'Brlen, Ill.

Morgan Mott

Mundt

O'Hara O'Neal

Outland

Patman

Philbin Phillips

Pickett

Ploeser

Poage

Rabin

Ramey

Ramspeck

Randolph Rankin

Richards

Rockweli

Rodgers, Pa.

Roe, Md. Roe, N. Y. Rogers, Fla. Rooney

Rowan

Russell

Sabath

Sasscer Savage

Sadowski

Ryter

Rankin Rayfiel Reece, Tenn, Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Rees, Kans.

Robertson, Va. Robsion, Ky.

Plumley

Poage Powers Price, Fla. Price, Ill. Priest

Qulnn, N. Y.

Pittenger

Peterson, Fla.

Peterson, Ga. Pfelfer

Schwabe, Mo. Schwabe, Okla.

Scrivner

Sharp Sheppard

Short Smith, Malne Smith, Ohlo Smith, Va. Smlth, Wis.

Somers, N Y.

Sparkman

Stefan Stevenson

Stockman

Sumner, Ill.

Sundstrom

Sumners, Tex.

Thom Thomas, Tex.

Thomason

Sullivan

Springer

Stlgler

Taber Taibot Talle

Tarver Taylor

Tolan

Torrens Towe

Traynor Trimble

Weaver Welchei

Wilson

Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa. Wolverton, N. J.

Wlnstead

Wood Woodhouse

Woodruff, Mich. Worley Zimmerman

Voorhis, Cal Vorys, Ohio Vurseil Walter

Wasielewskl

Welch White Whitten Whittington

Wickersham Wigglesworth

Calit.

Short

Snyder

to the House with the recommendation. that it do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Thomas of Texas, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2404) to increase the debt limit of the United States and for other purposes, directed him to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

Mr. DOUGHTON of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill to final passage.

The previous question was ordered. The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. DOUGHTON of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk called the roll; and there were—yeas 356, nays 4, not voting 72, as follows:

## [Roll Call 32]

#### YEAS-356

Abernethy Cochran Gerlach Allen, Ill. Andersen, Coffee Cole, Mo. Glbson Gifford H. Cari Coie, N. Y. Anderson, Calif. Colmer Giliespie Glllette Cooley Gillie Goodwln Anderson, N. Mex. Cooper Andresen. Courtney Gordon Gordon Gore Gorski Andrews, Ala. Andrews, N. Y. Cravens Angell Crosser Graham Granahan Arends Cunningham Arnold Curley Granger Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Auchlncloss Curtis Bailey Baldwin, Md. Baldwin, N. Y. D'Alesandro Daughton, Va. Davis Green Gregory Barrett, Pa. Delaney, Griffiths James J.
Delaney,
John J.
Dlcksteln Barrett, Wyo. Gwlnn, N. Y. Gwynne, Iowa Hale Hall, Earry Bates, Ky. Bates, Mass. Beall Beckworth Dlngell Edwin Arthur Hall, Dolliver Leonard W Bel. Dondero Doughton, N. C. Hancock Douglas, Calif. Hare Bennett, N. Y. Bennett, Mo. Blemlller Douglas, Ill. Doyle Harness, Ind. Elshop Blackney Drewry Durham Harrls Hartley Havenner Hays Healy Hebert Bland Dworshak Earthman Bolton Eberharter Elllott Ellls Boykln Hedrick Bradley, Pa Ellsworth Elston Engel, Mich. Engle, Calif. Brehm Hendricks Brooks Brown, Ga Herter Brown, Ohio Bryson Ervln Fallon Heselton Hess Hill Buck Feighan Buckley Bulwinkle Hinshaw Fenton Hoch Fernandez Fisher Hoeven Holifield Butler Byrne, N. Y. Byrnes, Wls. Flannagan Holmes, Wash Hook Hope Horan Flood Campbeli Canfieid Fogarty Folger Cannon, Fla Cannon, Mo. Forand Fuller Howeli Huber Carlson Case, S. Dak Fulton Hull Gathlngs Chapman Jackson Gavin Gearhart Chenoweth Jarman Church Jenkins Clements J:nnlngs

Jensen Mille Johnson, Callf. Mills Johnson, Iil. Morg Johnson, Ind. Johnson.

Lyndon B Johnson Okla. Jones Jonkman Kean Kearney Kee Keefe Kelley, Pa. Keogh Kerr Kilburn Kilday Klng Klnzer Kirwan Knutson Kopplemann Kunkel LaFoliette Landls Lane Lanham Larcade Latham Lea LeFevre Lesinski Lewis Llnk

Ludlow Lyle Lynch McConneii McCormack McCowen McDonough McGehee McGlinchev McGregor McMillan, S. C. McMillen, Ili. Madden Mahon Maloney Manasco

Mansfield. Mont. Marcantonio Martin. Iowa Martln, Mass Mason May Merrow

Michener Miller, Callf.

O'Konskl

NAYS-4 Thomas, N. J. Winter

NOT VOTING-

Adams Allen, La. Eaton Norton Elsaesser Galiagher O'Brien, Mich.
O'Toole Barden Gamble Patterson Boren Bradley, Mich. Gross Powell Brumbaugh Buffett Hagen Halleck Rains Rivers Burch Burgin Robertson, N. Dak, Robinson, Utah Hand Hart Heldinger Camp Carnahan Rogers, Mass. Rogers, N. Y. Sheridan Sikes Hoffman Case, N. J. Celler Holmes, Mass, Cheif Johnson, Luther A. Kefauver Simpson, Ill. Simpson, Pa. Chiperfield Clark Clason Clevenger Kelly, Ili. LeCompte Slaughter Stewart Cole, Kans. Starkey Vinson Lemke Corbett McHenzie Wadsworth Mansfield, Tex. West De Lacv Monronev Morrison Murphy Woodrum, Va.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

General pairs:

Domengeaux

Mr. Luther A. Johnson with Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts.

Mr. Carnahan with Mr. Hoffman.

Mr. Sheridan with Mr. Simpson of Iiiinois. Mr. Poweii with Mr. Case of New Jersey.

Mr. Weiss with Mr. LeCompte.

Mr. Mansfield of Texas with Mr. Clason. O'Tooie with Mr. Buffett

Mr. Domengeaux with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts

Mr. Rogers of New York with Mr. Haileck.

Mr. Slaughter with Mr. Eaton. Mr. Ceiler with Mr. Brumbaugh.

Mr. Allen of Louisiana with Mrs. Luce.

Mr. Rivers with Mr. Clevenger.

Mr. Morrison with Mr. Gamble. Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Hagen. Mr. Keliy of Iilinois with Mr. Lemke.

Mr. Keny of Himols with Mr. Lemke.
Mrs. Norton with Mr. Corbett.
Mr. Woodrum of Virginia with Mr. Gross.
Mr. Vinson with Mr. Wadsworth.
Mr. West with Mr. Dirksen.

Mr. Hart with Mr. Bradley of Michigan. Mr. Burch with Mr. Elsaesser.

Mr. Patterson with Mr. Robertson of North Dakota.

Mr. Murphy with Mr. Simpson of Pennsyl-

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Carnahan] was unavoidably detained and could not be present at the roll call just concluded.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 62) which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to conduct an investigation of the progress of the defensehousing program, with a view to determining whether such program is being carried forward efficiently, expeditiously, and economically, and with a view to determining whether the authorization of additional appropriations for defense-housing purposes is necessary.

For the purposes of this resolution, the said committee or any subcommittee thereof is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the at-tendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books or papers or documents or vouchers by subpena or otherwise, and to take such testimony and records as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or by any person designated by him, and shall be served by such person or persons as the chairman of the committee or subcommittee may designate. The chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses.

That the said committee shall report to the House of Representatives during the present Congress the results of their studies, in-quiries, and investigations with such recommendations for legislation, or otherwise, as the committee deems desirable.

#### MAKING OF TREATIES

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 174), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resoive itself into the Committee of the Whole House on tions that are or may be seeking Government contracts or business transactions?

In fact, the duties of the Veterans' Administrator are in themselves a monumental task requiring every minute of his time. In addi-tion, General Hines was recently appointed Administrator of Rehabilitation and Reemployment.

Needless to say, I will continue to criticize the Veterans' Administrator as long as he attempts to serve two masters and devotes his time to private business functions and for private financial gain. I leave it to the intelligence of the American people to decide whether this criticism is justified or not in face of the evidence I have presented here-

The question remains, Should General Hines be allowed to continue to represent private institutions who are doing business with the Government either directly or indirectly?

I hope that the Congress of the United States and the American people will demand that General Hines either resign from the private corporations or from his position as Administrator of Veterans Affairs.

I desire also to call to the attention of the I desire also to call to the attention of the Congress the following statute, which may or may not apply to this particular situation. If it doesn't apply, a law should be passed immediately forbidding any permanent Government official from holding any type of office in private business. I quote the statute (sec. 66, title 5, U.S. C.):

#### "RECEIVING SALARY FROM SOURCE OTHER THAN UNITED STATES

"No Government official or employee shall receive any salary in connection with his services as such an official or employee from any source other than the Government of the United States, except as may be contributed out of the treasury of any State, county, or municipality, and no person, association, or corporation shall make any contribution to, or in any way supplement the salary of, any Government official or employee for the services performed by him for the Government of the United States.

"Any person violating any of the terms of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shail be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not less than 6 months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, as the court may determine." (March 3, 1917, ch. 163, sec. 1, 39 Stat. 1106.)

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. HAND (at the request of Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey), for 3 days, on account of official business.

To Mr. Case of New Jersey (at the request of Mr. KEAN), for 2 days, on account of official business.

### SEN TE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The Speaker announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 214. An act to provide reimbursement for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as the result of an explosion at the naval mine depot, Yorktown, Va., on November 16, 1943.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 41 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, March 9, 1945, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

#### (Friday, March 9, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 o'clock a. m., Friday, March 9, 1945, to resume hearings on H. R. 1362, railroad retirement bill.

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

#### (Friday, March 9, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads on Friday, March 9, 1945, at 10 a. m., to continue hearings on parcel-post

#### COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Tuesday, March 13, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold a hearing on Tuesday, March 13, 1945, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 173.

#### (Wednesday, March 14, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold a hearing on Wednesday, March 14, 1945, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 1624 and H. R. 1746.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

279. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, notifying Congress that no leases which expired during the calendar year of 1944 were extended beyond their initial terms under the provisions of section 17 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

280. A letter from the Acting Secretary of

the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of a fire at the outlying degaussing branch of the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., on December 4, 1942; to the Committee on Claims.

281. A letter from the Associate Director, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, transmitting a copy of quarterly estimate of personnel requirements for the quarter ending June 30, 1945, covering the appropriation "Maintenance, Executive Mansion and Grounds, 1945"; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

282. A letter from the administrative assistant to the Secretary, Department of Commerce, transmitting revision 1 of the estimate of personnel requirements for the quarter ending March 31, 1945, for "Working funds, Federal airways"; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 62. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to investigate the progress of the defense housing program; without amendment (Rept. No. 290). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 174. Resolution for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 60, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties; without amendment (Rept. 291). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BATES of Kentucky: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 175. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 2013, to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 292). Referred to the House Calendar

Mr. CHIPERFIELD: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 2013. A bili to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 259, pt. II). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. KEARNEY: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 1356. A bill for the relief of Elias Baumgarten; without amendment (Rept. No. 289). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

### By Mr. BULWINKLE:

H. R. 2536. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act with respect to certain agreements between carriers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:
H. R. 2537. A bill to confer jurisdiction
upon the Court of Claims and the district courts of the United States of claims for damages resulting from the operation of aircraft by or for the United States; to the Com-

mittee on the Judiclary.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H. R. 2538. A bill to incorporate the Mothers of World War No. 2, to set forth and establish the purposes and aims of the organization, fixing its corporate powers and establishing the rights of membership, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARLESS of Arizona:

H.R. 2539. A bill to permit the continuation of certain subsidy payments and certain purchase and sale operations by corporations created pursuant to section 5d (3) of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BENDER: H. R. 2540. A bill to establish an Ohio Val-ley Authority to provide for unified water control and resource development on the Ohio River and surrounding region in the interest of the control and prevention of floods, the promotion of navigation and reclamation of the public lands, the promotion of family-type farming, the development of the recreational possibilities and the promotion of the general welfare of the area, the strengthening of the national defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MAY:
H.R. 2541. A bill to provide a method for
the wartime reduction of temporary grades

held by general officers of the Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military

By Mr. BLAND:
H. R. 2542. A bill to amend an act to authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make certain disposition of condemned ordnance, guns, projectles, and other condemned material in their respective Penertments: to the Committee on spective Departments; to the Committee on

Military Affairs.

By Mr. MURRAY of Tennessee:
H.R. 2543. A bill to require weekly newspapers enjoying mailing privileges to make sworn statements with respect to their circulation; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, a memorial was presented and referred as fol-

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to amend the Social Security Act to permit old-age pensioners to earn wages without penalty; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H.R.2544. A bill for the relief of Willie Hines; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2545. A bill for the relief of Florida Rhone Burch; to the Committee on Claims. By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 2546. A bill for the relief of Salvador Lorenz Fernandez; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WASIELEWSKI:

H.R. 2547. A bill for the relief of John J. Doherty; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

154. By Mr. GAMBLE (by request): Two petitions signed by 53 residents in the Twenty-eighth Congressional District of New York, opposing the enactment of H. R. 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

155. By Mr. LANE: Petition of the resolution committee of the lastmakers' unlon, Local 28, Lynn, Mass., urging modification of the Little Steel formula; to the Committee on Labor.

156. Also, petition of the delegates of eastern region of Massachusetts, members of the Polish-American Congress, at a meeting February 18, 1945, in Boston, Mass., urging assistance to the people of Poland and voicing disapproval of the results of the Crimean Conference; to the Committee on Foreign Af-

15%. By Mr. MOTT: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon memorializing the Congress of the United States to terminate the activities of the Office of Price Administration and all other agencies established for the war emergency as soon as is reasonably possible; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

158. By Mr. MURDOCK: Memorial of State of Arizona, House Memorial No. 4, requesting the establishment of a Government general hospital at Fort Huachuca; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

159. By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin: Petition of sundry citizens of Racine, Wis.; to the Committee on Milltary Affairs.

#### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE

MARCH 8, 1945.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Chiperfield, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

### MINORITY REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 2013]

We should continue mutual military aid among our allies until we have defeated our enemies. One of the means of carrying out that policy is the so-called Lend-Lease Act. We believe it should be continued in force for another year, from June 30, 1945, for this purpose and from year to year so long as the war continues.

The majority of the Foreign Affairs Committee, however, has recommended a bill, H. R. 2013, extending lend-lease until June 30, 1949, with no limitations on the use of lend-lease as a post-war mechanism.

This period is too long and this post-war power is too broad.

#### I. WHAT THE LEND-LEASE LAW NOW PROVIDES

The majority report says "the original Lend-Lease Act had a life of 2 years." This is not correct. The original act had a life of 5 years, providing 2 years for the making of contracts and agreements, and an additional 3 years for carrying them out. This 3-year addition, which is often overlooked, is becoming increasingly important. The law has been extended twice. Each time both of the termination dates, the 2-year period and the 3-year period, have been extended a year. Thus, lend-lease powers may now be exercised not merely until July 1, 1945, but to July 1, 1948. This 3-year period is not a clean-up period, but section 3c specifically provides that-

until July 1, 1948, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before July 1, 1945.

#### II. WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION SAYS ABOUT LEND-LEASE

President Roosevelt in his letter transmitting the seventeenth lend-lease report, November 1944, said—

Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease are a system of combined war supply. It should end with the war.

Mr. Leo T. Crowley, Lend-Lease Administrator, said to our committee:

the Lend-Lease Act is a war supply measure \* \* \* the post-war reconstruction problem abroad is a separate subject for the consideration of Congress \* \* \* Lend-lease will not be used for the purpose of post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Secretary of War Stimson said at our hearings:

Lend-lease should not be earried further after the war is over without the full consent of Congress to every step. It has been defended by me and by the others, who have argued here, for what it was worth for a military defense. But now, anything further in the way of civilian action in peacetime or in the post-war time, must, of course, have the consent of Congress and not be carried out without that consent.

These positive and unequivocal views of the officials charged with administration of lend-lease, from the President down, show what they think should be the limitations on lend-lease. We thoroughly agree and believe limitations of lend-lease to war purposes should be expressed in the law.

#### III. WHAT THE COMMITTEE BILL PROVIDES

The committee bill extends the power to make agreements to July 1, 1946, and to carry out agreements to July 1, 1949. The bill also extends the revolving fund under section 6b to July 1, 1949. Under section 6b, money received for lend-lease articles is again available for expenditure for lend-lease without further appropriation by Congress. This fund now exceeds \$489,000,000 and the proceeds

from existing or future agreements will be added to it.

We supported in committee the 1-year extension period for making lend-lease agreements and contracts, but attempted to eliminate the extension of the period for carrying out such agreements and contracts until July 30, 1949. We also attempted without success to provide specifically that no agreements for post-war relief, rehabilitation or reconstruction should be made. We were willing that agreements should be made for the post-war purchase by foreign governments of war materials furnished or agreed to be furnished by our country for use in the prosecution of the present war, but this compromise was defeated. Thus, the bill comes to the floor with an unlimited extension of lend-lease to June 30, 1949.

#### IV. THE NEED FOR LIMITATIONS

Two arguments were used against our proposal: first, that the law already contained such limitations, and second, that such limitations should not be placed upon the Executive. The utter inconsistency of these two arguments is obvious. We wish to comment on each of them.

First, as to the argument that the Lend-Lease Act is solely a war supply measure.

This aet was passed in March 1941, not as a war measure, but in peacetime as a peace measure. Its title is "To promote the defense of the United States." There is not a word about war in it. On the contrary—section 3 (d) and (e) purported to preserve our neutrality. The majority report from the House Foreign Affairs Committee, January 30, 1941, said:

It is the considered view of your committee, insofar as human minds can evaluate the situation, that the probable effect of the bill will be to keep us out of war rather than to get us into it.

On the other hand the minority report stated of lend-lease:

the oldest and last constitutional democracy surrenders its freedom under the pretext of avoiding war, with the probable result that the newest dietatorship will soon go to war.

At that time the majority said lend-lease was a peace measure, the minority said it was a war measure. Within less than a year, lend-lease became a war measure, as the minority had predicted. Now the majority of the same committee are claiming that this lend-lease extension is solely a war measure, and the minority are insisting that it shall be limited as a war measure, and not turned into a post-war measure. Under the circumstances, there can be no valid objection to writing specifically in the lend-lease extension the meaning the majority claim for it, when they are unable to point out any

language of the act to support their interpretation.

Last year in extending lend-lease the Wadsworth amendment was adopted which provided that the President should not incur any obligations with respect to post-war economy or military policy except in accordance with established constitutional procedure. Under the French agreement our country incurs obligations with respect to post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction. This agreement was entered into under the Lend-Lease Act which was passed in accordance with established constitutional procedure. Therefore, the power exists to make post-war commitments under the Lend-Lease Act, and the administration has already used that power. Mr. Oscar Cox, who drafted the Lend-Lease Act and who is now Deputy Administrator of Lend-Lease said in the hearings that lend-lease could be used after the war to supply "the combined occupation forces," or "food for the German civilians." (See hearings, pp. 52–53.) Thus, the real author of lend-lease agrees with the minority, that the present lend-lease powers, unless limited by Congress, may be used after the war.

Second, as to the argument that Congress should not limit the

powers of the Executive;

This argument, of course, completely contradicts the proposition that the Executive has no such power. Since the Chief Executive has said that lend-lease should end with the war and the officials administering the law have made similar statements, we cannot see how the writing of the policy into the law could embarrass the Executive. We have been urged to extend lend-lease to 1949, into another Presidential administration so as to avoid tying the hands of the President in advance. A more fundamental factor is involved. We have a duty to avoid tying the hands of Congress so far in advance. Congress will still be in session and will enact any laws that are necessary when they become necessary.

#### V. POST-WAR LEND-LEASE

The French agreement, released February 28, 1945, is by its very terms a post-war agreement. It provides that the two Governments—desire to insure the continuing provisions of such articles, services, facilities, or information without interruption owing to any uncertainty as to the date when the military resistance of the common enemy may cease; and desire to insure further that such articles \* \* \* shall be disposed of and transferred following a determination by the President that such aid is no longer necessary to the prosecution of the war.

The agreement provides for our furnishing \$1,675,000,000 of raw material, food, petroleum supplies, and freight charges, and \$900,-000,000 of locomotives, watercraft, metal working machinery, and industrial equipment. Payment is to be made over a period of 30 years with interest at 2% percent. It was explained to the committee that all of these were "war supplies," which would be necessary for the prosecution of the war if it lasts long enough; that these supplies also had post-war values, and that due to the uncertainty of the war's end, provision was made for payment instead of the usual lend-lease arrangement. We were told that some of these supplies would take many months to prepare, some of them 8 to 12 months. Obviously they will be of no value in the war effort if they are not completed before the war ends. We do not make any predictions as to the end of the war but we believe our agreement with the French certainly is liberal as to what are war necessities. The amendments we offered, however, would permit carrying out the French agreement, and would even permit the making of other similar "war supply" agreements, but would forbid agreements that were clearly for post-war relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Since these amendments were defeated there is a possibility of further "war supply" agreements under the Lend-Lease Act which will affect our post-war economy for years to come and involve billions of dollars.

The press has carried references to negotiations with Russia involving \$6,000,000,000 for post-war purposes. The press has also referred to arrangements for \$6,000,000,000 of lend-lease to the British after the conclusion of the war in Europe up until the end of the war with Japan, including 2½ billion dollars of civilian lend-lease to be sent to England. We now have lend-lease agreements with 47 countries and identical master lend-lease agreements with 13 countries including Britain, Russia, and China. The terms of these agreements

are very broad. Article VIII of each agreement provides:

It shall continue in force until a date agreed upon by the two governments.

The whole Dumbarton Oaks idea of collective security means that the defense of each country against aggression is vital to the defense of every other country. The lend-lease law authorizes the President to furnish anything to "any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States." The broad definition of "defense articles" gives the President power to carry out the collective security formula by supporting the post-war economy of any country whose defense he deems vital to our defense.

#### VI. WHO BENEFITS BY LEND-LEASE EXTENSION TO 1949?

Not a single example will be found in the hearings nor in the eommittee report of a transaction or transfer that needs to be postponed until 1949. Not a single example is given of a transfer in 1949 which would benefit the United States. On the other hand, the French agreement may establish a post-war precedent of 30-year loans short-eireuiting the Johnson Act which will be of questionable benefit to us. If we carry lend-lease forward a year at a time and instances arise where extension for particular countries or particular items would be for our benefit, Congress can then make provision for such extensions. If we make a blanket 4-year extension at this time it may turn out to be, not a "elean-up" period as the majority suggest, but a "eleaned-up" or "cluttered-up" period for our country.

#### VII. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS

Any long-time post-war lend-lease agreements would be subject to future action by Congress in appropriating money to carry them Congress has exactly the same future control and responsibility in appropriating to earry out a treaty. We believe, however, that there should be congressional approval of our post-war plans and policies before they become binding agreements. Such plans and policies should not be submitted to Congress merely for appropriations to earry them out, with the threat that failure to do so would mean a default upon an agreement legally entered into by our country. Once our country determines upon a policy, Congress can be relied upon to implement that policy by appropriations. On the other hand, if an attempt should be made to circumvent Congress in determining our post-war policies, we might have a domestic issue raised which would be disastrous at home and abroad. We believe the majority of the American people who favor our assuming increased international obligations, are at the same time determined that we shall not use our international commitments as a means of changing our form of government here at home. We believe that our country should participate in the "ereation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace," as provided in the Fulbright resolution. Congress has aided in the ereation of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to take care of post-war relief and rehabilitation. The Bretton Woods proposal of an international reconstruction bank will shortly be before Congress. We supported an American bank of reconstruction last year when this was before our committee. We believe that post-war machinery for securing peace should be submitted to Con-The war making power should have something to say about whether peacemaking machinery is appropriate and adequate.

The undersigned are all Republicans. We wish to do our part in determining a foreign policy which is not a Democratic policy or a Republican policy, but an American peace policy. As President

Roosevelt said on March 1, using almost the very words of Governor Dewey:

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation.

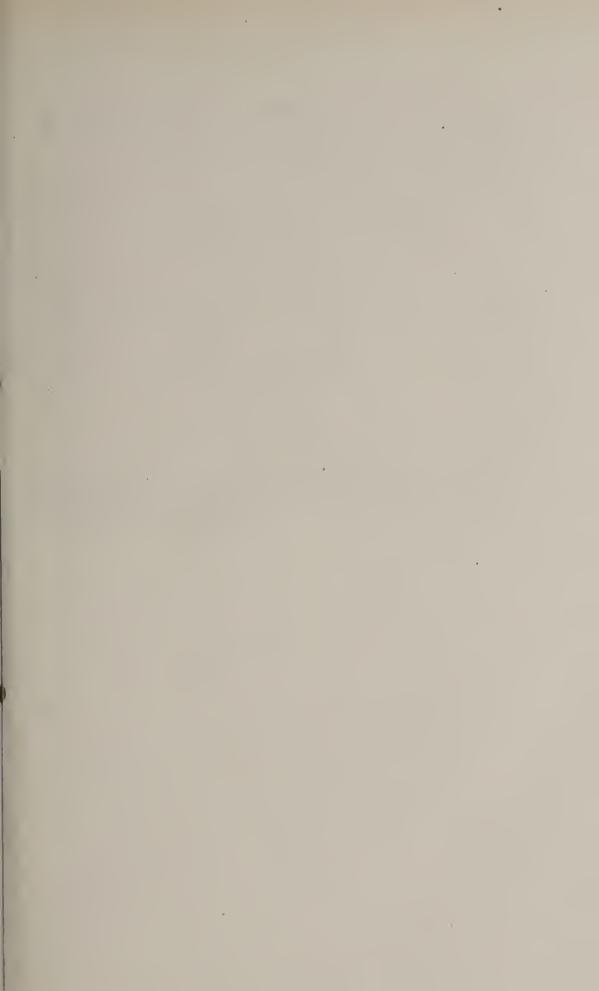
Limitations on lend-lease which we are proposing are the very limitations which the President and his officials have approved. To omit these limitations is to grant post-war powers to the President which he has not asked for. To write in the limitations which we suggest is merely to have Congress take a coordinate place in stating the foreign policy of our country.

The issue on extension of lend-lease is, therefore, not whether we are for or against mutual military aid during the war, for we are for it and are ready to vote for another year's extension of such aid. The issue is not whether we are for participating in establishing and maintaining peace. If the machinery proposed for this purpose is appropriate and adequate, we are for it. The issue is simple; whether or not Congress wishes to extend the lend-lease power, administration, and practices into the post-war period. We believe we should not. Lend-lease failed as a measure to keep us out of war. If it is projected into the post-war period it may again fail to keep us out of war. For unity, we should confine its extension to the field in which we are all united on lend-lease, as a mutual war-aid measure. Post-war relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction policies should be separately and specifically authorized by Congress.

We shall submit amendments on the floor to earry out the views

herein expressed.

ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD.
JOHN M. VORYS.
KARL E. MUNDT.
BARTEL J. JONKMAN.
LAWRENCE H. SMITH.





#### CONSIDERATION OF H. R. 2013

March 8, 1945.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

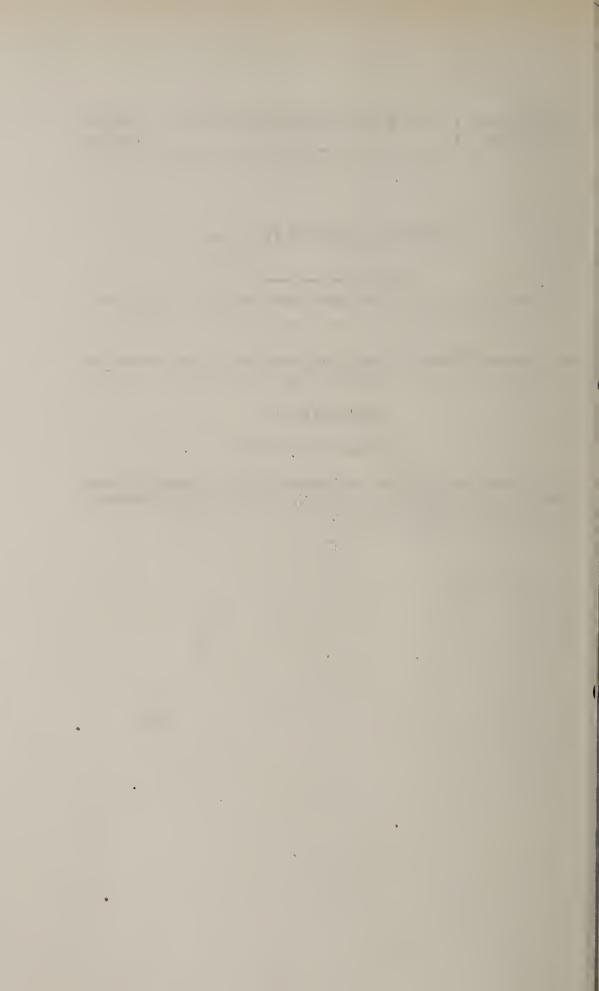
Mr. Bates of Kentucky, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

## REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 175]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 175, reports the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.

 $\bigcirc$ 



# House Calendar No. 71

79TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 175

[Report No. 292]

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 8, 1945

Mr. Bates of Kentucky, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

# RESOLUTION

- 1 Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this
- 2 resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve
- 3 itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state
- 4 of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013)
- 5 to extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote
- 6 the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,
- 7 as amended. That after general debate, which shall be con-
- 8 fined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed four hours
- 9 to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and
- 10 the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign
- 11 Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-
- minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill

same back to the House with such amendments as shall have 2

been adopted and the previous question shall be considered 3

as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final pass-4

age without intervening motion except one motion to re-5

6 commit.

> 79TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

House Calendar No. 71

[Report No. 292]

For the consideration of H. R. 2013, a bill to amended. States, approved March 11, 1941, as Act to promote the defense of the United extend for one year the provisions of an

Bates of Kentucky

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered March 8, 1945 printed 03

a motion for that purpose (pp. 2044-8). Sen. Bailey, N.C., spoke opposing the motion and other members discussed this with him (pp. 2050-4). Action on Sen. Murray's motion was not concluded because the "morning hour...expired," and so "The resolution goes to the calendar" (p. 2054).

- 6. LATIN AMERICA. Sen. Connally, Tex., discussed the "results of the inter-American conference at Mexico City," and other members discussed this with him (pp.2057-66).
- 7. BUREAUCRACY; PERSONNEL. Sen. Wiley, Wis., urged reduction of the number of Federal personnel, stated that "the annual pay-roll cost of the estimated 300,000 Federal workers who are holding surplus and artificial jobs is \$700,000,000. This...would pay the annual interest rate...of our national debt...rather than go down the bureaucratic drain"; and inserted his press statement on this subject (p.2030).

  Both Houses
- 8. RURAL REHABILITATION./received the War Food Administrator's report with respect to the progress of the liquidation of Federal rural rehabilitation projects. To Appropriations Committee. (p. 210,6.)
- 9. FORESTRY. Received/Breg. Legislature resolution urging additional appropriation of \$50,000 for the Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station for the establishment of a Forest Utilization Service unit. To the Appropriations Committee. (p. 2033.)

Received a Wyo. Legislature resolution opposing the Jackson Hole National Monument and urging restoration to Wyo. of full title to all public lands. To Public Lands and Surveys Committee. (p. 2033.)

- 10. RECLAMATION; IRRIGATION. Received Wyo. Legislature resolutions urging that all presently proposed Federal irrigation projects in Wyo. be continued in all stages under the direct supervision of the Bureau of Reclamation and favoring the removal of excess land provisions of the reclamation act for lands receiving water supplies therefrom. To Irrigation and Reclamation Committee. (p. 2107).
- 11. FARM LABOR. Rep. Halleck, Ind., urged early consideration of H. Con. Res. 29, the Lemke farm-labor deferment resolution (p. 2078).
- 12. MANPOWER. Rep. Patrick, Ga., urged favorable House action on the Senate version of H. R. 1752, the manpower bill (p. 2078).
- 13. PERSONNEL. Received a petition of a S. Dak. citizen urging reduction of Federal personnel by one-third and Federal compensation by 35% (p. 2107).

  Rep. Gibson, Ga., criticized the FEPC (pp. 2104-5).
- 14. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT. Rep. Miller, Calif., was elected to the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee (p. 2076).
- 15. LEND-LEASE. Rep. Bloom, N. Y., inserted a committee-approved amendment to
  H. R. 2013, extending the Lend-Lease Act for 1 year, to restrict the President's
  powers to enter into agreements with foreign governments for post-war relief,
  rehabilitation, or reconstruction (p. 2074).

Rules Committee submitted a resolution for the consideration of H. R. 2013 (pp. 2104, 2106).

16. COMMODITY CREDIT. Passed with amendment S. 298, to continue CCC as a U.S. agency, increase its borrowing power, revise the basis for annual appraisal of its assets, etc. (pp. 2079-2103). Agreed to Rep. Spence's (Ky.) amendment to substitute the language of H.R. 2023, which had been passed, 358-8, earlier. Agreed to an amendment by Rep. Wolcott, Mich., making inapplicable to

## OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Issued March 13, 1945, for actions of Monday, March 12, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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#### SENATE

1. INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1946. Began debate on this bill, H.R. 1984, and acted on committee amendments (pp. 2034, 2035-6, 2066-72). Agreed to all committee amendments except those passed over including those for the Federal Power Commission (p. 2068), Federal Works Agency, public works advance planning (pp. 2068-70), Federal Public Housing Authority (p. 2071), and the general provision prohibiting use of any of these funds to pay the salary of any person filling a position formerly held hy a man now in the armed services who has been honorably discharged and has within 40 days thereafter made application for restoration to his former position and has not been restored thereto (p. 2072). For provisions of interest see Digests 21, 24, and 45a.

Sen. McKellar, Tenn., discussed the committee amendment with regard to the provision for assistance to States/for Federal activities looking toward planning a post-war public works program (pp. 2068-70).

- 2. WAR DEPARTMENT CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1946. Passel as reported this bill, H.R. 2126 (pp. 2034, 2054-6). As passed the bill provides \$24,172,000 for flood control, general, and restricts the use of flood control funds by this Department.
- 3. REGULATORY FUNCTIONS. Judiciary Committee reported without amendment S. Res.98, providing for the continuation of the study of Executive branch authority for the issuance of executive orders and departmental regulations (S.Rept. 90). Referred to the Audit-Control Committee. (pp. 2034-5.)
- 4. RURAE ELECTRIFICATION; NOMINATION. Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported adversely the nomination of Aubrey W. Williams to be REAdministrator (p.2054).
- 5. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. Sen. Murray, Mont., urged that the Commerce Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 555, his MVA bill, and that the bill be referred to the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee; and he made

#### BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William T. Sherwood, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to fill an existing vacancy

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the President be immediately notified of all nominations this day confirmed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 59 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess unti' tomorrow, Tuesday, March 13, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 12, 1945:

#### DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Richard Ford, of Oklahoma, now a Foreign Service officer of class 3 and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul general of the United States of America.

Robert F. Fernald, of Maine, now a Foreign Service officer of class 5 and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul general of the United States of America.

Forrest K. Geerken, of Minnesota, now a Foreign Service officer of class 7 and a secretary In the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul of the United States of America.

#### THE JUDICIARY

#### UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

Hon. Albert A. Ridge, of Missouri, to be United States district judge for the western district of Missouri, vice Hon. Merrill E. Otis, deceased.

Robert Lewi Brown, of Montana, to be United States district judge for the district of Montana, vice Hon. James H. Baldwin, de-

#### UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

J. Albert Woll, of Illinols, to be United States attorney for the northern district of Illinois. (Mr. Woll is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired October 10, 1944.)

Randolph Carpenter, of Kansas, to be United States attorney for the district of Kansas, vice George H. West, resigned.

Bernard J. Flynn, of Maryland, to be United States attorney for the district of Maryland. (Mr. Flynn is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired October 4, 1944.)

Dennis E. Sullivan, of New Hampshire, to be United States attorney for the district of New Hampshire, vice Alexander Murchie, resigned.

George F. Troy, of Rhode Island, to be United States attorney for the district of Rhode Island. (Mr. Troy is now serving In this office under an appointment which expires March 10, 1945.)

#### UNITED STATES MARSHALS

W. Bruce Matthews, of Maryland, to be United States marshal for the District of

Columbia, vice John Colpoys, deceased.
John J. Wein, of Ohio, to be United States marshal for the northern district of Ohlo, vice George J. Keineth, deceased.

Ben Ivy King, of Tennessee, to be United States marshal for the western district of Tennessee, vice Charles W. Miles, resigned.

#### POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

#### ALABAMA

James G. Rea, Notasulga, Ala., in place of A. M. Stevenson, retired.

#### CALIFORNIA

William N. Parkinson, Canoga Park; Calif., In place of F. L. Cary, deceased.

#### ILLINOIS

Margaret M. DeCoste, River Grove, Ill., in place of E. O. Trumbull, removed.

Helen Elaine Varlas, Schlller Park, Ill., in place of H. J. Cheze, removed.

#### IOWA.

Glen W. Heath, Rake, Iowa, In place of W. O. Thomas, deceased.

#### KANSAS

Marie F. Jehlik, Cuba, Kans., In place of E. C. Strnad, transferred.

Harvey E. Yauk, Durham, Kans., In place of E. R. Schwemmer, transferred.

Hattie M. Higgins, Mapleton, Maine, In place of D. F. Smith, resigned.

#### MASSACHUSETTS

Eugene Matheson, Ipswich, Mass., in place of S. D. Conley, resigned.

#### MICHIGAN

Mabel E. McMichael, Lennon, Mich. Office

became Presidential July 1, 1944. Martha E. Krzyszke, Waltz, Mlch. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.

#### MISSOURI

Collis P. Lindimore, Montrose, Mo., in place of M. D. Cole, removed.

Aleine Miller, Perrysburg, N. Y., in place of J. H. Vaughn, transferred.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

Clarence H. Mason, Timberlake, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

#### OHIO

Clayton L. Rupright, Beaverdam, Ohlo. Office became Presidential Oct. 1, 1944. Ruth W. Steuart, Brookfield, Ohlo. Office

became Presidential July 1, 1941.

Harry N. Patterson, Grandfield, Okla., ln place of Audrey Teeter, deceased.

#### RHODE ISLAND

Alexander P. Bates, Oak Lawn, R. I. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

#### TEXAS

Hubert John Risinger, Bandera, Tex., in place of R. V. Roome, resigned.

Granville M. Knox, Bertram, Tex., In place of R. N. Gray, transferred.

#### VIRGINIA

J. Frank Walsh, West Polnt, Va., In place of R. T. Bland, resigned.

Charles L. Seavey, Winslow, Wash., in place of M. B. Start, retlred.

Edgar H. Setzkorn, Arpin, Wis., in place of J. F. Loschky, deceased.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 12, 1945:

#### BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

William T. Sherwood, to be Assistant Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

#### POSTMASTERS

#### GEORGIA

Catherine R. Lanneau, Barney. Sarah W. Turner, Pelham. Margaret D. Cate, Sea Island.

Emma Keating, Allen. Mary L. Myers, Berrlen Center. Lester Kittell, Riverside.

#### NEBRASKA

Harold C. Bruce, Verdigre.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

Byron U. Rlchardson, Pinehurst.

#### OHIO

George T. Meesig, Bellevue. F. Stone Trautman, Belpre. Sue A. Watts, Conesville. Alverda Wells, Dellroy. Inez S. Winget, Edlson. Josiah Elkenberry, Laura. Pearl Burket, Rawson.

#### OKLAHOMA

Myrl J. Finch, Tupelo.

#### OREGON

Pearl A. Carsley, Malin.

# House of Representatives

Monday, March 12, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following

O God of heaven and earth, who ridest on the wings of the morning, keep alive in our breasts the deathless desire for human service. What a kingly privilege to be a distributor of that life which is a lyric balm for every wounded heart. O lift us nearer to the Father, where our hearts go out faithfully and lovingly to our fellow men.

Thou whose light is the way of blessing, make us to realize the plain, searching words of Jesus: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." upright thing we did yesterday and the unselfish act of last week will make the forces of good a little stronger. Herein is the sureness of an elevation of soul which comes to those who understand that no man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself. For the sake of others, revitalize us with courage to attack every evil habit and check every wrong tendency. Impress us each day that we are sealing destiny which will meet us in the future years. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, March 9, 1945, was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on Thursday, March 1, 1945, the President approved and signed a bill of the House of the following title:

On March 1, 1945:

H.R. 626. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the con-struction of certain public works, and for other purposes.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R.1752. An act to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, and for other purposes.

MESSAGE SENT TO GENERAL EISENHOWER AND HIS REPLY

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to the unanimous-consent request agreed to on Wednesday, March 7, 1945, he did on Friday, March 9, send the following message to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force:

At the request of the United States House of Representatives, unanimously expressed, I send to you, the officers and men of all services under your command, our congratulations and thanks for the magnificent victories recently achieved on the western front.

Through the War Department this message came back from General Eisenhower:

On behalf of myself and all troops under my command, please convey to the House of Representatives our appreciation and sincere thanks for your inspiring message which is being transmitted to the officers and men of all services.

#### LT. GEN. COURTNEY H. HODGES

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Geor-

There was no objection.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, from time to time Members rise here to call attention to the accomplishments of one or the other of our great military leaders. Certainly we are blessed and should give thanks for our matchless leadership in this war.

I am sure you will forgive me this morning for pointing with pride to the leadership of my own distinguished constituent, Lt. Gen. Courtney H. Hodges, in command of the First American Army.

Aside from its official designation, it was first to land at Normandy, first to enter Germany, first to crack the Siegfried line, and now the first to cross the Rhine.

General Hodges was born and reared at Perry, Houston County, Ga. His mother, brother, and other members of

the family live there today.

It is springtime down in Georgia. The sun shines bright and the air is scented with the sweet fragrance of the flowers. In my mind's fancy I can see General Hodges' devoted mother, there in the sunshine and among the flowers, lifting her voice to a gracious God for a son who has distinguished himself so greatly and has been given the opportunity to contribute so much to the cause of free-

#### LEND-LEASE

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York.

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who met today in executive session, I read for the information of the House an amendment that was approved unanimously by that committee with reference to the lend-lease bill. This amendment was agreed to by all the signers of the minority report. It is an amendment to section 3 (c):

Provided, however, That nothing in section (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction; except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

#### SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The Speaker. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, shortly after his re-election by an overwhelming vote to the United States Senate Henry Cabot Lodge resigned his seat in that body that he might enter the armed forces of his country. He believed his country should have the benefit of his military experience in its most critical period. His many friends in Massachusetts and in the Congress of the United States and throughout the country were delighted to learn this last week that his outstanding services have won for him the French Legion of Honor and the Croix de Guerre with Palm. That he may return to us at the end of the war in good health, with even richer military honors, is the sincere wish of his legion of friends.

CENSUS BUREAU REPORT ON WOMEN

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

[Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix of today's Record.]

(Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana asked and received permission to extend his remarks by including a letter.)

Jarman Murdock Murphy Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis. Neely Norrell Jenkins Jennings Jensen Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Ili. Johnson, Ind. Johnson, Luther A. Johnson, Okla. O'Brien, Ill. O'Brien, Mich. O'Hara Jonkman O'Konski O'Neal Judd Kee Outland Keefe Pace Patman Patrick Kefauver Kelley, Pa. Kelly, Ill. Patrick Patterson Peterson, Fla. Peterson, Ga. Pfeifer Keogh Kerr Kilburn Phillips Pickett Kilday King Kinzer Pittenger Kirwan Knutson Kopplemann LaFollette Plumley Poage Powers
Price, Fla.
Price, Ill.
Priest Landis Lanham Quinn, N. Y. Rabaut Latham Rabin Rains Lesinski Lewis Link Ramey Ramspeck Randolph Ludlow Lyle Rankin Lynch McConnell McCormack McCowen Rayfiel Reece, Tenn. Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Rees. Kans. McDonough McGehee Richards McGregor McMillan, S. C. Riley Rivers Mahon Manasco Rizley Robertson, Va. Mansfield, Mont. Marcantonio Martin, Iowa Martin, Mass. Robsion, Ky. Rockwell Rockwell Rodgers, Pa. Roe, N. Y. Rogers, Fla. Rogers, Mass. Rogers, N. Y. Rooney Merrow Michener Miller, Calif, Miller, Nebr. Rowan Russell Mills Monroney Morrison Ryter Sabath Sadowsk1 Mundt

Sasscer Savage Schwabe, Mo. Schwabe, Okla. Scrivner Shafer Sharp Sheppard Short Short Simpson, Ill. Smith. Va. Smith, Wis. Snyder Somers, N. Y. Sparkman Spence Springer Stefan Stevenson Stigler Stockman Sullivan Sumner, Ill. Sumners, Tex. Sundstrom Taber Talbot Talle Tarver Thom Thomas, N. J. Thomas, Tex. Thomason Tibbott Tolan Torrens Towe Trimble Voorhis, Calif. Vorys, Ohio Vursell Wadsworth Walter Wasielewski Weaver Weichel Welch Whitten Whittington Wickersham Wigglesworth Wilson Winstead Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa. Wolverton, N. J. Woodhouse

#### NAYS-8

Buck Clevenger Hoffman

Jones Kean Rich

Smith, Ohio Winter

Woodruff, Mich.

Worley Zimmerman

### NOT VOTING-

Anderson, Calif. Hart Heidinge Auchincloss Herter Hobbs Bates, Mass. Bender Holmes, Mass. Izac Boren Case, N. J. Chapman Johnson. Lyndon B. Kearney Clark Kunkel Clason Combs Curiey Lea LeCompte Daughton, Va. Lemke Luce McGlinchey Dawson Dirksen McKenzie McMillen, Ill. Eaton Elsaesser Fogarty Fuller Gardner Maloney / Mansfield, Tcx. Gerlach Mason Morgan Mott Hagen Hand

O'Toole Philbin Powell Robertson, N. Dak. Robinson, Utah Roe, Md. Sheridan Sikes Simpson, Pa. Slaughter Smith, Maine Starkey Taylor Traynor Vinson Weiss West White Wood Woodrum, Va.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

General pairs:

Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Sheridan with Mr. Robertson of North Dakota.

Mr. Slaughter with Mr. Clason. Mr. O'Toole with Mr. Gerlach.

Mr. Izac with Mr. Hagen.

Mr. Weiss with Mr. Anderson of California.

Mr. Curley with Mr. Hand.

Mr. Vinson with Mrs. Luce.

Mr. Chapman with Mr. Mason.

Mr. Mansfield of Texas with Mrs. Smith of Maine.

Mr. Madden with Mr. Auchincloss.

Mr. Philbin with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts.

Mr. Lea with Mr. Kearney.

Mr. Powell with Mr. Simpson of Pennsyl-

Mr. Clark with Mr Fuller.

Mr. Fogarty with Mr. Eaton.

Mr. Colmer with Mr. Dirksen.

Mr. Hart with Mr. Case of New Jersey. Mr. Robinson of Utah with Mr. LeCompte.

Mr. West with Mr. Kunkel.

Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson with Mr. Lemke.

Mr. Woodrum of Virginia with Mr. McMillen of Illinois.

Mr. McGlinchey with Mrs. Bolton. Mr. Maloney with Mr. Herter.

Mr. McKenzie with Mr. Elsaesser.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 298) to continue Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, increase its borrowing power, revise the basis of the annual appraisal of its assets, and for other purposes, strike out all after the enacting clause, and substitute the provisions of the bill just passed, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4 of the Act approved March 8, 1938 (52 Stat. 108), as amended, is hereby amended by deleting the term "\$3,000,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof the term "\$4,500,000,000".

SEC. 2. In the event the War Food Administrator determines that there is danger followers by worth a through specification in the

of loss or waste through spoilage in the stocks of any nonbasic perishable commodity owned or controlled by the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Corporation may sell or cause to be sold such stocks of such commodity below the parity or comparable price therefor and the Corporation shall, insofar as practicable, make such sales, or cause them to be made, in such manner as to prevent the depression of the farm price of the commodity.

SEC. 3. The provisions of subsection (c) of

section 381 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (52 Stat. 67) are suspended until the expiration of the 2-year period begin-ning with the 1st day of January immedi-ately following the date on which the President, by proclamation, or the Congress, by concurrent resolution, declares that hostilities in the present war have terminated.

SEC. 4. The last paragraph of section 2 (e) of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended by the Stabilization Extension Act of 1944, shall not apply to the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946: Provided, That the making of subsidy payments and the buying of commodities for resale at a loss, by the Commodity Credit Corporation, for the purpose of maintaining maximum prices established pursuant to provisions of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended and supplemented, shall be limited as follows: Obligations for making such payments and absorbing such losses may be incurred and paid by the Commodity Credit Corporation (a) in such amounts as may be necessary (1) to complete operations with respect to 1944 and prior year crop programs and (2) to fulfill obligations incurred prior to July 1, 1945, with respect to 1945 and prior fiscal year noncrop programs; and (b) in amounts which do not involve subsidy payments or losses in excess of (1) \$250,000,000 for operations during the 6-month period ending December 31, 1945, with respect to the dairy production payment program, (2) \$60,000,000 for operations during the 6-month period ending December 31, 1945, with respect to other noncrop programs, including the feed-wheat program. and (3) \$225,000,000 with respect to the 1945 crop program operations. Should hostilities in the present war extend beyond December 31, 1945, such dairy production payment program and other noncrop program operations involving such subsidy payments and losses may be continued on a basis which, taking into account seasonal variations in rates and production, will not involve such subsidy payments and losses in excess of \$250,000,000 for operations during the 6-month period ending June 30, 1946, with respect to the dairy production payment program, or \$60,000,000 for operations during the 6-month period ending June 30, 1946, respect to other noncrop programs, including the feed-wheat program: Provided, however, That if hostilities cease before June 30, 1946, no additional obligations provided for in this sentence may be incurred by the Commodity Credit Corporation with respect to such pro grams after the date on which hostilities

SEC. 5. The first two sentences of section 1 of the Act approved March 8, 1938 (52 Stat. 107), as amended, are hereby amended to read as follows:

"As of the 30th of June in each year and as soon as possible thereafter, beginning with June 30, 1945, an appraisal of all of the assets and liabilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation for the purpose of determining the net worth of the Commodity Credit Corporation shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury. The value of assets shall be determined on the basis of the cost of such assets to the Commodity Credit Corporation, or insofar as practicable, the average market price of such assets during the last month of the fiscal year covered by the appraisal, whichever is the lower, and a report of any such appraisal shall be submitted to the President as soon as possible after it has been made".

SEC. 6. The first sentence of section 7 of the Act approved January 31, 1935 (49 Stat. 4), as amended, is hereby amended by striking out "June 30, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1947".

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Spence: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the provisions of H. R. 2023, as amended.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The proceedings by which the bill (H. R. 2023) was passed were vacated and that bill laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO REVISE AND EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Hill] be permitted to address the House for 1 hour on Tuesday, March 20, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of any other special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Grant] be permitted to extend his own remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### EXTENSION OF ACT TO PROMOTE THE DE-FENSE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BATES of Kentucky, from the Committee on Rules submitted the following privilege resolution (H. Res. 178, Rept. No. 388), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013), to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next after the legislative business of the day I may address the House for 45 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

### RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from the Committee:

MARCH 12, 1945.

Hon. SAM RAYBURN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I herewith tender my

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I herewith tender my resignation as a member of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee.

Genuinely yours,

FRANK L. CHELF, Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation is accepted.

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and to include two letters and a news clipping from this morning's Washington Post.

Mr. CELLER asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. RAMEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and to include two statements from the Toledo Blade in regard to the first American soldier to cross the Rhine.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a manuscript entitled "The American Scholar." It exceeds the limit. I have an estimate from the Public Printer and I am informed the cost will be \$138.80. Notwithstanding that fact, I ask unanimous consent that the extension may be made.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow after the legislative business has been completed and any other special orders I may address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

## FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Gibson] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker. On April 14, 1944, I brought to this House what I considered pertinent facts with regard to the organization and operation of what is known as the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which has until now existed and operated under an Executive order of the President.

In that report I showed to this body that this organization in the central office here in Washington and throughout the Nation maintained 106 paid employees, 61 of whom were Negroes, and 45 whites. I showed further that the existence of this committee cost the taxpayers of the Nation \$317,160 per year; that the white employees drew \$143,000 and the Negroes \$173,000 per annum.

Realizing that the populace of this democracy has no means of obtaining the truth with regard to this committee, I feel it my duty to from time to time keep the people advised. I further feel that it is the duty of every Member of this House to have the facts actually existing with this committee when it has no standing other than a temporary organization set up by Executive order.

When the operation of this committee with its shameful, disgraceful, and un-

democratic set-up is considered, when it is existing only as a temporary organization, it is impossible to conceive of the abuses that the people may expect from it when it once gets itself permanently established in this democracy.

To begin with, this committee or any such organization has no right of existence in a democracy where people are presumed to have some rights and privileges over themselves and the rown business, but looking behind the curtain, let us see whether its status has been improved since my report of April 1944, or whether the misuse of power has been expanded and the privileges granted this organization more grossly abused.

I have recently obtain from the chairman's office a statement of the names, positions, salaries, and color of all employees connected with this committee throughout its entirety. It is at this time composed of 43 whites, 65 Negroes, and 2 Japs.

In other words, around 63 percent of its personnel is Negro, and nearly 2 percent Japanese. There being only 43 whites, I will give the names of them, as follows:

Malcolm Ross, Emanuel Blotch, Evelyn Cooper, Myra Bunting, Will Maslow, Hayes W. Beall, Inez Mercer, Celio Hoffman, Daniel R. Donovan, Olcott R. Abbott, Harold James, Witherspoon Dodge, George D. McKay, Sally Chubb, Don W. Ellinger, Evelyn Ronning, Harry L. Kingman, Edward Ruthledge, Bernard Ross, Virginia Seymour, Jewell Mazen, Bruce A. Hunt, Max Berking, Coral Coan, Simon Stickgold, Tillie Asepha, Sonia Schwartz, Mildred Greenbelt, Samuel Risk, Karyl Klinger, Alice Kahn, Edna Wasem, Joy Schultz, Penny Zeidman, Roy A. Hoglund, Eugene Ormsbee, Helen G. Schlien, Morris Levine, Carlos Castenada, Willetta Gutleben, Ignacio Lopez, Vera G. Vetter, Marie Lerma.

I want the people of the United States to bear in mind that this committee is vested with powers to destroy this democracy. I recited the powers granted this committee in my other report to the Congress, but I desire to quote said powers as follows:

First. All agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all contracts a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Second. All Federal agencies concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination.

Third. The committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various Federal departments and agencies. It shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination.

Fourth. The committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination. It may conduct hearings, make findings of facts, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

Fifth. The committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matters pending before the old committee.

Sixth. The committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to acrry out the provisions of the

I feel in my heart such a spirit of indignation to any such condition being permitted to exist in this democracy until I am not in position to command words sufficient to express my contempt for this organization and the spirit that

prompts its sponsorship.

There is quite a block of the membership of this House today sponsoring, and sponsoring with all their force, legislation to give this committee permanent status. They realize that if such legislation becomes law that this committee will have power to make them work in their offices. a Negro, Japanese, or anyone else of their choice. Now let me get this straight in the beginning: this is not a Negro row-he is not to blame for this condition. He is being used as a tool, if you please, a means to an end, which end will bring to him nothing but suffering. If the Negroes in this country were let alone they would cause no one any trouble. It is the meddlers who are not interested in the Negro nor his well-being, but who are cheap enough to use him and his status as a means to destroy the liberties and freedom that have been the fruit of this democracy. If you Members of Congress are sincere in your efforts to establish this committee as a permanent branch of the Government, why don't you practice what you preach? I would like to say to the Negro people, if you want to test the sincerity of the membership who are sponsoring this legislation, call at the office of each one of them and see how many Negro secretaries they have. This one fact should convince you that they are not sincere and not willing to do voluntarily what they seek to force others to do by laws passed at their hands.

It is beyond me to understand why there is so much effort being put out to tear down and destroy all the fundamentals of the democracy our fighting forces are dying to preserve while they are absent on the many battle fields of the world today, and are precluded from even expressing themselves on these radical changes and this great progress of regimentation of man and property.

I want to say to the membership of this House, in no uncertain terms, that you will have to answer to those boys who, while prisoners of Japan, were mutilated, burned, and abused, and forced to eat rats, cats, and stray dogs, while you have lived normal, full lives, for voting to put in charge of their homes, their families, and their businesses, Japanese, while they have had no right to express themselves. When you go to cast your ballot for this legislation, I want you to know that you will not be able to say in your next campaign that you did not know that you were voting to establish a dictatorial agency to control the destiny of the lives of the families of those who suffered at Bataan and Corregidor, who had in its employ at the time one Doris K. Sese, a Japanese, and one Otome Saito, a Japanese. You will not be able to say that you did not know that the office of the chairman of this committee was staffed by five whites and five Negroes; that the Field Operations was staffed by three whites and five negroes and one Japanese; that the office of Review and Analysis was staffed by two whites and six Negroes; that the Legal Division was staffed by one white by the name of Simon Stickgold, and two Negroes; that the Information Division was staffed by two Negroes only; that the Office of Budget and Administration was staffed by eleven Negroes only; and the office of Mail and Files was staffed by six Negroes only. I say you will not be able to tell them that you did not know this because I am now telling you, and the Congres-SIONAL RECORD will disclose these facts to you. I have been told that those who would not hear must feel, and those of you who cannot wait to set up this infernal machine of destruction until the boys do return and are given the privilege of at least expressing themselves, I hope will at least be able to feel.

I want to further remind you that the taxpayers are spending annually \$351,-380 base pay to maintain this stigma on the decency of America. I have no definite figures further than the base pay, but when the increased percentage employees draw and overtime is figured, I have every reason to know that the amount drawn from the tax funds of the Nation will run

more than \$400,000 per year.

I hold no prejudice, ill will, or malice against any individual on account of race, creed, or color. I measure people by their own conduct, but let me say to you that in my opinion if there is any such thing as a decent Japanese the percentage would be less than one-hundredth part of one percent. For the sake of argument, let us presume that there are some individual Japanese who could be considered loyal to this Government, and who could be considered trustworthy, then could it not be said that that individual who is privileged to live under our flag could safely trust native-born white Americans for a square deal. If you people think that the native-born Americans have deteriorated to such a low degree of responsibility, of decency, and of national honor that you have got to set up a board with no one but Negroes in charge of its administration and a bunch of Japanese to go out and control the business of this Nation, then you should be ashamed of your citizenship. I wonder if you people really know just what your works are going to produce. I wonder if you have forgotten that, "by their works ye shall know them." I wonder if you think that the American people, the people who built this great commonwealth, are going to submit to a bunch of Negroes and Japs going about over the country telling them who they shall employ and how they shall run their businesses. I can tell you, you are fixing to produce a condition in this country that will cause your own children to look back on your record with scorn and disdain. Do you realize that you are sowing the seeds of revolution? Do you realize that you are meddling where you have no business: that you are nourishing national disorder and trouble that can only serve to destroy a land of freedom, liberty, and justice?

I hope that through the press and otherwise the inside story of this organization can go to the entire citizenry of this Nation, and irrespective of persons, I hope those who so far forget the spirit of those who perished at Corregidor and Bataan and those who lived through the horrors to return will not be forgotten by the voters who love America and American institutions.

I was criticized by some few individuals for bringing those facts to the people last April, and may again be criticized for exposing these facts. But let me say that I have them over the signature of the office of the Chairman if anyone wants to question the veracity of the statements of fact contained herein. I want to advise the House and this Nation that irrespective of any criticism I shall continue to keep the people advised on the work of this un-American set-up.

Let me say again that you may accuse me of striking at the Negro people, but I want to tell you that the Negroes through my district and in my home town are my friends and I do not believe that they would want such organization to exist in this country. I know that they would not want to be dictated to by a Jap, and if this committee ever obtains permanent status you have no assurance that it will not be dominated by Japs and every other un-American force that can be obtained. Let me tell you, and I speak with all the truth within my being, if an attempt was made here to set up a committee composed wholly of white native-born Americans to go out and meddle and dictate and interfere with the business of the Negro people of this Nation only, then I would stand on this floor and fight such a move as un-American and not worthy to be perpetuated under the American flag.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. Chapman, for 2 days, on account of illness.

To Mr. PATRICK, for 3 days, on account of important business.

To Mr. Hobbs (at the request of Mr. Sparkman), for 1 week, on account of official business.

To Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson (at the request of Mr. Thomason), for the balance of this week, on account of serious illness in his family.

To Mr. IZAC, Mr. MADDEN, Mr. MOTT, Mr. Bates of Massachusetts, Mr. Anderson of California, Mrs. Smith of Maine, and Mr. FARRINGTON (at the request of Mr. Vinson), for 2 weeks, on account of official business to investigate the housing situation as it pertains to the Navy in the Hawaiian area.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 13, 1945, at 11 o'clock a. m.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(Tuesday, March 13, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Brand Names and Newsprint Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, March 13, 1945, to resume public hearings on newsprint.

(Tuesday, March 13, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, March 13, 1945, to resume hearings on H. R. 1362, railroad retirement bill.

> COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

> > (Tuesday, March 13, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold a hearing on Tuesday, March 13, 1945, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 173.

(Wednesday, March 14, 1945)

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold a hearing on Wednesday, March 14, 1945, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 1624 and H. R. 1746.

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST Roads

(Thursday, March 15, 1945)

There will be a meeting of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads on Thursday, March 15, 1945, at 10 a.m., to continue hearings on parcel-post rates.

COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

(Thursday, March 15, 1945)

The Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation will meet in executive session at 10:30 a. m., on Thursday, March 15, 1945, in the committee room, 356 House Office Building.

> COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS (Tuesday, March 20, 1945)

The Committee on Invalid Pensions will hold hearings on Tuesday, March 20, at 10:30 o'clock a.m., in room 247, House Office Building, on H. R. 128, a bill to extend the period of the Philippine Insurrection so as to include active service with the United States military or naval forces engaged in hostilities in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the islands of Samar and Leyte, between July 5, 1902, and December 31, 1913.

(Wednesday, March 21, 1945)

The Committee on Invalid Pensions will continue hearings on Wednesday, March 21, at 10:30 o'clock a. m., in the committee room, 247 House Office Building, on H. R. 128, a bill to extend the period of the Philippine Insurrection for pensionable purposes for service rendered between July 5, 1902, and December 31, 1913.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

285. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of the legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, reported by the Governor of the Virgin Islands to the Secretary of the Interior; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

286. A letter from the Administrator of War Food Administration, transmitting a report with respect to the progress of the liquidation of Federal rural rehabilitation projects; to the Committee on Agriculture.

287. A letter from the Administrative Officer of the White House, transmitting the estimated personnel requirements for the White House Office for the quarter ending June 30, 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

288. A letter from the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, transmitting an estimate of personnel requirements of the United States Tariff Commission for the quarter ending June 30, 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

289. A letter from the Chairman of War Production Board, transmitting a copy of the personnel requirements of the War Production Board for the fourth quarter of the fiscal year 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

290. A letter from the Executive Director of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, transmitting a copy of the estimates of the number of employees required for this Office during the period ending June 1945, as submitted to the Bureau of the Budget; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

291. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting estimates of personnel requirements for the Post Office Department, for the quarter ending June 30, 1945; to the Com-

mittee on the Civil Service.

292. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1946 in the amount of \$59,169,040 for the Federal Security Agency, in the form of amendments to the Budget for said fiscal year (H. Doc. No. 111); to the Committee on Appropriation and ordered to be printed.

293. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1946, in the amount of \$20,550, for the legislative branch, House of Representatives (H. Doc. No. 112); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be

294. A letter from the Executive Secretary of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, transmitting a copy of the estimate of personnel requirements for the Office of Scientific Research and Development during the quarter ending June 30, 1945; to the Commmittee on the Civil Service. 295. A letter from the Allen Property Cus-

todian, transmitting a copy of the quarterly estimate of personnel requirements for the period ending June 30, 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

296. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to section 16 of the organic act of the Virgin Islands of the United States approved June 22, 1936, a copy of various legislation passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

297. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting estimates of requirements of personnel subject to Public Law 49 for the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard (departmental and field) for the fourth quarter, fiscal year 1945, together with a request that a new ceiling be established for the Navy Department in each classification for the fourth quarter, fiscal year 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

298. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting the bulget for the fiscal year 1946 for development of landing areas for national defense, Office of Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, Department of Commerce, in the form of a draft of proposed provision extending the availability of the existing appropriation under that head to June 30, 1946 (H. Doc. No. 113); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

299. A letter from the Administrator of the Federal Works Agency, transmitting the information for the purpose of making a determination of the number of employees necessary for the proper and efficient exercise of the functions of the Federal Works Agency for the quarter ending June 30, 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

300. A letter from the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, transmitting the quarterly estimate of personnel requirements of the National Labor Relations Board for the fourth quarter of the fiscal year 1945; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. BATES of Kentucky: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 178. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 2013, a bill to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 308). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Joint Resolution 115. Joint resolution relative to determination and payment of certain claims against the Government of Mexico; without amendment (Rept. Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, the Committee on Claims was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2531) for the relief of Norman C. Albrethsen, and the same was referred to the Committee on the Public Lands.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BECKWORTH:.

H. R. 2580. A bill to give credit to veterans, for purposes of title II of the Social Security Act, for certain service in the armed forces; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLAND: H.R. 2581 A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the issuance of devices in recognition of the services of mer-chant sailors," approved May 10, 1943 (57 Stat. 81), and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BUNKER:

H.R. 2582. A bill to provide for disregarding small amounts of compensation for casual labor in determining need for the oldage assistance provided for pursuant to title

#### CONSIDERATION OF H. R. 2013

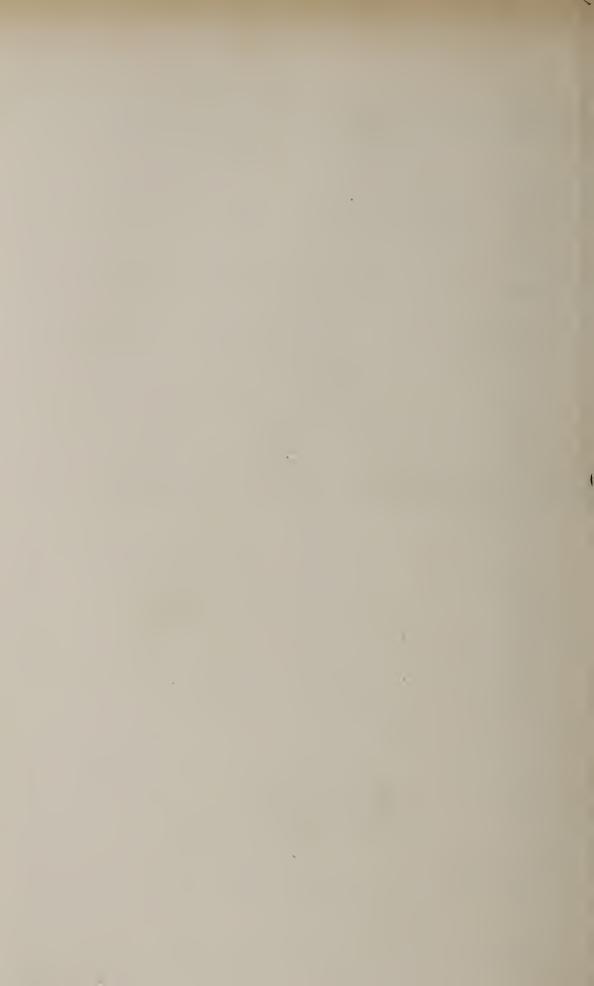
MARCH 12, 1945.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. Bates of Kentucky, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

## REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 178]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 178, reports the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.



# House Calendar No. 74

79TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 178

[Report No. 308]

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 12, 1945

Mr. Bates of Kentucky, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

# RESOLUTION

- 1 Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this
- 2 resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve
- 3 itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of
- 4 the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013) to
- 5 extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the
- 6 defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,
- 7 as amended, and all points of order against said bill are
- 8 hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall
- 9 be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed four hours,
- 10 to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the
- 11 ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign
- 12 Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-

- minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the 1
- bill for amendment, the committee shall rise and report the 2
- bill to the House with such amendments as may have been 3
- adopted and the previous question shall be considered as 4
- ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final pas-5
- sage without intervening motion, except one motion to 6
- recommit. 7

[Report No. 308]

79TH CONGRESS

House Calendar No. 74

For the consideration of H. R. 2013, a bill to

extend for one year the provisions of an Act

approved March 11, 1941, as amended. to promote the defense of the United States,

Mr. Bates of Kentucky March 12, 1945

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered

to

printed

11/2-26

- 12. REPORTS. Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee reported without amendment H.R. 2504, to discontinue certain reports (includes AAA, F.S.,
  and condition-of-work reports) now required by law (H.Rept. 311) (p.2200).
- 13. LEND-LEASE. Passed, 354-28, with amendment H.R. 2103, to extend the Lend-Lease Act until June 30, 1946 (pp. 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156-88, 2190). Agreed to a Committee-approved amendment to limit the President's authority to enter into post-war lend-lease agreements (pp. 2182-6). Rejected Rep. Rich's, Pa., amendment to provide for congressional approval relating to the termination of lend-lease contracts with foreign governments (pp. 2186-7).

During the debate on this bill Rep. O'Hara, Minn., criticized lend-lease shipments of farm machinery (pp. 2163-4). Rep. Flood, Pa., inserted an FEA letter and statement on the use of farm machinery in lend-lease (pp. 2170-1). Rep. White, Idaho, criticized the "give-away principle" involved in lend-lease (p. 2190).

(p. 2190).

- 14. LATIN AMERICA. Rep. McCormack, Mass., commended the Chapultepec Inter-American Pact (pp. 2154-5).
- 15. PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED. Rules Committee reported without amendment H. Res. 45, providing for a Labor Committee investigation of Federal aid for the physically handicapped (H. Rept. 327) (pp. 2188, 2201).
- 16. PUBLIC LANDS. Rule's Committee reported without amendment H. Res. 96, providing for a Public Lands Committee study of public-lands administration (H.Rept. 329) (pp. 2189, 2201).
- 17. DAIRY INDUSTRY. Received a Mass. Legislature resolution urging relief for Mass. dairy-products producers (p. 2202).
- 18. TAXATION. Rep. Anderson, N. Mex., criticized the proposed constitutional amendment that would limit Federal taxing power to a maximum rate of 25% (pp. 2193-6).
- 19. PETROLEUM. Rules Committee reported without amendment H. Res. 155, continuing the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee investigation of the petroleum situation (H. Rept. 331) (pp. 2188, 2201).
- 20. APPROPRIATIONS. Received (Mar. 12) from the President supplemental appropriation estimates for Office of Education, for education and training of defense workers, \$44,460,400 and for Latin-American cultural and educational activities \$163,000; and for Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, \$8,757,400 (H.Doc.111). To Appropriations Committee.
- 21. RECLAMATION. Received a Wyo. : Legislature memorial favoring removal of excess-land provisions from the Reclamation Act (p. 2202)...
- 22. IRRIGATION. Received a Wyo. Legislature memorial urging continuation of all Federal irrigation projects (p. 2202).
- 23. FORESTRY; RESEARCH. Received a S. C. Legislature memorial urging the provision of funds for forest research in S.C. (p. 2202).

essary activities. These are times when it is absolutely necessary to draw a definite line of demarcation between destrable and necessary projects. Expenditures must be reduced to the absolute minimum."

Statutory authorities. "Another matter of agency and departmental administration that has interested the committee is the apparently gradual but steady deviation from the basic provisions of statutory authority under which activates were originally creeted. This would seem to be a natural consequence of the increased work load created by additional law and by the general needs of the Nation, especially during this war period, and is not, of course, intentional. It is suggested that department heads cause to be instituted studies relating to specific statutory authorities covering the various functions performed by the bureaus and divisions within their respective departments and subsequently to clear the findings and determinations not only between such bureaus and divisions but also with other departments and agencies which may have some connection with those particular activities."

Sale of statistical information. "There was also brought to the attention of the committee during the hearings on the accompanying bill the tendency to supply statistical information to all requesting it, regardless of the existence of opportunity to sell such information. Interrogation of witnesses from Bureaus whose functions include the compilation and dissemination of statistical information suggested that only information specifically requested is being sold in accordance with statute. Reference to title 15, United States Code, 189 (a); however, also includes the following provision, relating to the Department of Commerce: 'To prepare from its records such statistical compile... tions; and to furnish transcripts of its studies, tables, and other records, upon the payment of the actual cost of such work by the person, firm, or corporation requesting it. Accordingly, the committee recommends that the statistical gathering agencies in this bill re-evaluate the type of information that has been disseminated free of charge with the view of charging the cost incidental thereto to the parties receiving the benefit, rather than allocating it to the general cost of operating that agency.

Duplication of activities. The committee is convinced that a certain amount of duplication exists between departmental, bureau, and division levels in activities covering personnel, accounting, auditing, procurement, and leave-record keeping. There seems to be a great discrepancy between these organizational units as to the extent each should engage in such work, with resulting duplication and waste of urgently needed manpower. The committee suggests that the Bureau of the Budget institute studies of these activities with the view of standardizing the type and extent of work that should be performed by each organizational unit. This would not only make for greater efficiency but would also enable the committee to compare the cost of these services as between the various departments and agencies of the Government. If, for instance, agency A employs 3,000 employees and agency B employs 6,000 employees, the committee would be able to compare the cost of the central personnel and accounting activities for these agencies. Such a standardization would also reduce to a considerable extent job studies and reclassifications by the Civil Service Commission, especially when an employee is transferred from one bureau or department to enother."

<sup>10.</sup> MANPOWER. Rep. Hook, Mich., objected to sending the manpower bill, H.R. 1752, to conference (pp. 2155-6). The Rules Committee reported a resolution to provide for consideration of the question as to whether the bill will be sent to conference or whether the Senate version will be voted on (p. 2201).

ll. PRICE CONTROL; MEAT INDUSTRY. Rep. Morrison, Las., criticized OPA's "chaotic regulations" for the "critical" meat situation in La. (p. 2190).

# House of Representatives

TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1945

The House met at 11 o'clock a.m.
The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera
Montgomery, D. D., offered the following

Thou who are the author of all godliness, who givest light to blindness and rest to the seeking heart, grant that we may be eager to do errands of mercy; patient to wait for Thy will; strong to resist evil and cleave to that which is good. Thou knowest that we are unworthy; linger with us in Thy helpfulness and bid faith lead us upward to a fresh consecration of our duties.

In our prayer we bear to Thee the homes of our country. Restore the broken firesides which have been wrecked and ruined by indifference, negligence, and infidelity. We pray that the gentle spirit of the Christ may restrain temper and make the home like the heaven of which it is the promise and the foretaste. O God, so make of them citadels of unity and happiness that children will ever love to tarry there. Grant that parents may not be conformed to worldliness, but have minds and hearts which aspire to every good and perfect thing. Help us all to be as grateful as we are dependent, remembering that a gracious spirit is the aroma of a happy and a contented home. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 2126. An act making appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, for civil functions administered by the War Department, and for other purposes.

#### CONFERENCES OF MINISTERS

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, when we opened the session of the House this morning there were 14 Members here at the prayer service. I do not think that speaks well for the Congress.

I have a letter this morning from the ministers in Pennsylvania complaining about the Office of Defense Transportation prohibiting them from having their regular church group meetings where they have to use transportation. And preachers do not travel on trains unless it is necessary. I have an idea that when this country prohibits the ministers from having their regular conferences there is a sinister motive behind the whole thing. I do not believe it is the idea of transportation alone that is involved. I am afraid that something will happen so that we will close the churches of this country unless we take some action here in the Congress. They did it in Germany. They prohibited the gathering of church They closed the groups in Italy. churches in Russia; recently, however, they have permitted churches in Russia to reopen. I am afraid this administration will supervise our churches here in America. You say it cannot happen here. Oh, do not be too sure. The New Deal has a club over the radio, the newspapers, the business of America, the farmers of America; now look out for the churches. I say to America, wake up before it is too late. I am very much concerned myself and worried. American liberty soon will be gone; the New Deal is blaming it on the war. I do not believe it myself. I hope the O. D. T. will lift the ban on church travel at

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KEFAUVER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a brief article from the American Political Science Quarterly.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and insert certain lists of employees on the pay roll of what is called the F. E. P. C.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

[Mr. RANKIN addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix of today's RECORD.]

## WAR-PLANT INVESTIGATIONS IN DETROIT

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

[Mr. VURSELL addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix of today's Record.]

#### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 178, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 4 hours. to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, this resolution, if adopted, makes in order the bill H. R. 2013, which does nothing except extend lend-lease for 1 year. Inasmuch as I have no request whatever for time, I now yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be no opposition at this time on this side. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Keefe], who asks to speak out of order.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time merely to give notice I am about to file a resolution calling for the appointment of a special investigating committee to investigate the entire subject of the War Food Administration and distribution, the Commodity Credit Corporation, Defense Supplies Corporation, and related corporate agencies. I trust those who are interested in this matter will see to it that this resolution is given immediate consideration by the Committee on Rules in order that the matter may be cleared for good or bad, as the facts may demonstrate.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Michener].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, the Rules Committee was advised of a very unusual happening when the Committee on Foreign Affairs was reported as unanimous on their extension of this lend-lease legislation. There will be 4 hours of debate; then, if amendments are desired, the House may work its will. There will be few who will vote against this bill as agreed upon by the committee. The lend-lease policy is in force,

and I, for one, shudder at what might happen if lend-lease were to be terminated in the midst of this critical war. Only the most compelling circumstances can justify further lend-lease expenditures. This vast spending must cease at the earliest possible date.

the earliest possible date.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Sumners].

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record and make a brief statement in regard to the insurance bill recently agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### LEND-LEASE

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] 1 minute.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may revise and extend the remarks I made yesterday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, in connection with this rule and bill I desire to say that, notwithstanding the fact that we have granted 4 hours for general debate, I hope that all the time will not be taken. It is a unanimous report. There is no contest or opposition. Repeating, I hope that when the bill is taken up not all of the time provided in the rule will be consumed, so that the bill can be taken up and considered under the 5-minute rule and passed today. With the other important legislation, it is to be hoped that we will be able to expedite the same and get it out of the way so that the Members, being under a terrific strain, may have an opportunity to take a few weeks' recess during the coming Easter holidays.

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

#### DECLARATION OF CHAPULTEPEC

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record at this point and to include therein the text of the Inter-American Pact.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Declaration of Chapultepec is a step of highest significance in the history of inter-American relations.

The immediate effect of this declaration is to provide, for the duration of the war, a mechanism whereby the American republics signatory thereto can take effective action against any aggression or threat of aggression against one of the American republics. The declaration provides that, in the event any aggression occurs, or even if good reasons exist for believing that such aggression is in preparation, the countries signing this declaration will consult with each other in order to decide what measures they consider it advisable to take. The declaration goes on to point out the various types of measures which might be considered, ranging all the way from the recall of diplomatic representatives to the use of economic sanctions and of armed force if that is necessary to repel an aggressor.

For the first time, therefore, the American republics are adopting enforcement measures to insure that their oftenstated ideal of peaceful relations may not wantonly be violated. On the just grounds that any disruption of the peace among the nations of this hemisphere would constitute a blow to the war interests of the United Nations, to which all the signatory states belong, the Declaration of Chapultepec becomes effective immediately. For the future, the declaration recommends that the American republics enter into a treaty which will formally establish these procedures and continue to be effective after the war.

Behind this history-making declaration lies a long history of mutual collaboration among the equal, sovereign republics of this hemisphere for protection of their peace and independence. As long ago as 1890, at the First International Conference of American States, the republics of this continent agreed not to recognize acquisitions of territory brought about by force. This principle has been frequently reaffirmed in various conferences and meetings of the inter-American system. At the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace in 1936, the American republics inaugurated a system of consultation through which they might deal with problems of common concern, including breaches of the peace. This consultative procedure was further developed at Lima in 1938. When war broke out in Europe, the American republics, putting this procedure of consultation into effect, held meetings of their foreign ministers. At Habana in 1940 they declared that any aggression by a non-American country against an American republic would be considered an aggression against all of them.

Thus there has evolved through many years of constructive effort the principle of solidarity among the republics in protection of their independence. Now in the Declaration of Chapultepec this principle receives its logical and culminating expression in the recognition that any threat of aggression from whatever source against an American republic will be considered a threat against all of them.

In this document we find expression of the truth that the cause of peace is of equal concern to every nation, large and small. That truth is implicit in the background and evolution of the inter-American policies which made this declaration possible. That truth is specifically expressed in the provision stated

within the declaration itself that the arrangements, activities, and procedures to be carried out under it shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organization when formed.

Adoption of this enlightened international agreement emphasizes the leadership which the American republics as a whole have given to the cause of world peace. The Declaration of Chapultepec is built upon the proposals of 3 of our good neighbors of South America, Brazil, Colombia, and Uruguay, and many representatives of the 20 republics assembled at Mexico have helped to shape its final form.

At the same time, we of the United States can justly take pride in the contribution which our statesmen have made to this great evolution of peaceful principles through the development and application of the good-neighbor policy.

The United States, as the most powerful of the American republics, has had a special rule and responsibility in the development of the inter-American system. Because of its strength, this country has in the past been feared by some of its smaller and less powerful neighbors. Through our consistent adherence to the good-neighbor policy, however, it has been possible for us to convince our friends to the south that the American people are devoted to the same principles of peace and of mutual réspect among nations as they are. The enthusiastic formulation of the Declaration of Chapultepec, whereby the United States, as one of the republics signing that act, is given a necessarily large share of responsibility for the preservation of peace in this hemisphere, by the use of force, if necessary, demonstrates that we have been able to win the confidence of our neighbors.

The American people will welcome the Declaration of Chapultepec as a profound expression of good neighborly confidence and cooperation, and as a tangible indication of the determination of the peoples of the New World to play their part in building a lasting peace on just principles.

[From the Washington Post of March 4, 1945] TEXT OF CHAPULTEPEC INTER-AMERICAN PACT—

DOCUMENT ON STRONGER TIES FOR NATIONS OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE

MEXICO CITY, March 3.—The text of the Act of Chapultepec: Declaration on reciprocal assistance and American solidarity by the governments represented at the Inter-American Conference on War and Peace.

Whereas:

1. The peoples of the Americas, animated by a profound love of justice, remain sincerely devoted to the principles of international law;

2. It is their desire that such principles, notwithstanding the present difficult circumstances, may prevail with greater force in future international relations;

3. The inter-American conferences have repeatedly proclaimed certain fundamental principles, but these must be reaffirmed and proclaimed at a time when the judicial bases of the community of nations are being established:

4. The new situation in the world makes more imperative than ever the union and solidarity of the American peoples, for the defense of their rights and the maintenance of international peace;

5. The American states have been incorporating in their international law, 1890, by means of conventions, resolutions, and declarations, the following principles;

(A) The proscription of territorial conquest and the nonrecognition of all acquisitions made by force. (First International Conference of American States, 1890.)

(B) The condemnation of intervention by a state in the internal or external affairs of another. (Seventh International Conference of American States, 1933, and Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936.)
(C) The recognition that every war or

threat of war affects directly or indirectly all civilized peoples, and endangers the great principles of liberty and justice which constitute the American ideal and the standard of its international policy. (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

(D) The procedure of mutual consultation in order to find means of peaccful cooperation in the event of war or threat of war between American countries. (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of

Peace, 1936.)
(E) The recognition that every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation. (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936.)

(F) That any difference or dispute between the American nations, whether its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or unrestricted arbitration, or through the operation of international justice. (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936.)

(G) The recognition that respect for the personality, sovereignty, and independence of each American state constitutes the essence of international order sustained by continental solidarity, which historically has been expressed and sustained by declarations and treaties in force. (Ninth International Conference of American States, 1938.)

(H) The affirmation that respect for the faithful observance of treaties constitutes the indispensable rule for the development of peaceful relations between states and treaties can only be revised by agreement of the contracting parties. (Declaration of American Principles, Eighth International Conference of American States, 1938.)

(I) That in case the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American republic is threatened by acts of any nature that may impair them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, coordinating their respective sovcreign will by means of the procedure of consultation, using the measures which in each case the circumstances may advisable. (Declaration of Lima, Eighth International Conference of American

States, 1938.)
(J) That any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty, or the political independence of an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against all the American states. (Deciaration XV of the second meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Habana, 1940.)

6. The furtherance of these principles, which the American states have practiced in order to secure peace and solidarity between the nations of the continents, constitutes an effective means of contributing to the general system of world security and of facilitating its establishment;

7. The security and solidarity of the continent are affected to the same extent by an act of aggression against any of the American states by a non-American state, as by an American state against one or more American PART 1

Declaration: First. That all sovereign states are juridically equal amongst themselves.

Second. That every state has the right to the respect of its individuality and independence on the part of the other members of the international community.

Third. That every attack of a state against the integrity or the inviolability of territory, or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American state, shall, conformably to part III thereof, be considered as an act of aggression against the other states which sign this declaration.

In any case, invasion by armed forces of one state into the territory of another, trespassing boundaries established by treaty and marked in accordance therewith, shall constitute an act of aggression.

Fourth. That in case that acts of aggression occur or there may be reasons to believe that an aggression is being prepared by any American state, the states signatory to this declaration will consult amongst themselves in order to agree upon measures they think

it may be advisable to take.

Fifth. That during the war and until treaty arrangements recommended in part II hereof the signatories of this declaration recognize such threats and acts of aggression as indicated in paragraphs third and fourth above constitute an interference with the war effort of the United Nations calling for such procedures, within the scope of their general constitutional and war powers, as may be found necessary, including:

Recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions;

Breaking of diplomatic relations; Breaking of consular relations;

Breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radiotelephonic relations;

Interruption of economic, commercial, and financial relations;

Use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression.

Sixth. That the principles and procedure contained in this declaration shall become effective immediately, inasmuch as any act of aggression or threat of aggression during the present state of war interferes with the war effort of the United Nations to obtain victory. Henceforth, and with the view that the principles and procedure herein stipulated shall conform with the constitutional principles of each republic, the respective governments shall take the necessary steps to perfect this instrument in order that it shall be in force at all times.

Recommendation:

The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace recommends:

That for the purpose of meeting threats of acts of aggression against any American republic following the establishment of peace, the governments of the American republics should consider the conclusion, in accordance with their constitutional processes, of a treaty establishing procedures whereby such threats or acts may be met by:

The use, by all or some of the signatories of said treaty thereto, of any one or more of the following measures:

Recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions;

Breaking of diplomatic relations;

Breaking of consular relations; Breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radiotelephonic relations;

Interruption of economic, commercial, and financial relations; use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression.

#### PART III

This declaration and recommendation provide for a regional arrangement for dealing with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action and procedures referred to therein shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organization when formed.

This declaration and recommendation shall be known by the name of Act of Chapultepec.

#### LEND-LEASE

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER. The Chair expects to recognize the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. May] to ask unanimous consent to send a bill to conference.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

#### [Roll No. 37]

Anderson, Calif. Gardner		Morrison
Baldwin, Md.	Gavin	Mott
Bates, Mass.	Grant, Ala.	O'Toole
Bloom	Hagen	Patrick
Bolton	Hand	Philbin
Boren	Harless, Ariz.	Powell
Brumbaugh	Hart	Powers
Buckley	Hébert	Reed, Iil.
Cannon, Fla.	Heidinger	Robinson, Utah
Case, N. J.	Hobbs	Sadowski
Chapman .	Izac	Sheridan
Clason	Johnson, Ill.	Sikes
Combs	Johnson,	Simpson, Pa.
Courtney	Lyndon B.	Smith, Maine
Daughton, Va.	Kearney	Smith, Ohio
Dawson	Kunkel	Starkey
Dirksen	LeCompte	Stewart
Eaton	Lemke	Taylor
E'lis	Luce	Weiss
Elsaesser	McGlinchey	White
Fellows	McKenzie	Wood
Fuller	Morgan	

#### AFTER THE ROLL CALL

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 363 Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings, under the call, were dispensed

#### MOBILIZATION OF CIVILIAN MANPOWER

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 1752, entitled "An act to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, and for other purposes," with a Senate amendment, disagree to the Senate amendment, and ask for a conference.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I object. Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman reserve that until I make a statement?

Mr. HOOK. I will withhold it temporarily.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman reserve that until I can make a statement?

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. I will be very happy to do so.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the regular order of procedure in cases of this kind is to go to conference, with the idea in mind that conferees representing both Houses of Congress can reach some agreement on the legislation that may improve it. In this instance the House

bill was stricken out by the Senate and an entirely different measure written as a single amendment to the House bill. That is the matter that is pending before the House today. If the House will allow conferees to be appointed at this time without further delay, we can go to work on the bill. If we do, and fail to agree, we will have to bring it back to the House for instructions, or if we do agree, we bring back a report which must be voted up or voted down, and on which a motion may be made, as I understand the procedure, to instruct the conferees. The House will have an opportunity at that time, after the conferees have made an honest endeavor to report proper legislation, to do whatever it wants to do with the conference report.

I hope the gentlemen will not merely delay it by making objection, but will let us go to conference to see what we can

work out.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not want to delay consideration of this legislation, but it seems to me that since the Senate, after weeks of debate has adopted, by an overwhelming vote, amendments to the House bill, which are substantially what was offered here as a substitute, and which lacked passage by only a few votes, that the gentleman should modify his request and ask that the House concur in the Senate amendments. That certainly would expedite consideration of the measure.

Mr. MAY. I could not afford to do that, because I am not for the Senate amendment. That would be a complete abandonment of the position of the

House of Representatives.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Does not the gentleman think that the House is entitled to express itself on the Senate amendments after all these weeks of consideration of this legislation?

Mr. MAY. The House has already voted on that very subject, as the gentleman said, and expressed itself against it. Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. But not

on the Senate amendments.

Mr. MAY. The gentleman himself said awhile ago it was practically the same thing.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Substantially the same.

Mr. MAY. There is not much difference in the two. There should not be any difference in the vote. Now I have no disposition whatsoever to prevent the House from expressing itself on this matter but I think the regular way to proceed should be followed by the House, with credit to itself.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am reluctant to disagree with my distinguished chairman; I have a great affection for him, but this is a matter of great importance. Current press reports of the Senate committee in Detroit investigating manpower and production indicate that there is an inexcusable waste of labor; that we are getting only 50 to 60 percent efficiency in production in some plants. Particularly in those plants operating under cost-plus contracts where it is reported that labor is not being utilized to the fullest extent. I believe therefore the House should have an opportunity to express itself on these

amendments. This bill, as amended, is intended to do precisely the thing the gentleman wants to accomplish—namely, to utilize to the fullest, available manpower and increase production. Moreover, we would accomplish that objective without enslaving the American people.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I demand

the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan demands the regular order. The regular order is: Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky to send this bill to conference? Mr. HOOK. I object.

#### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend lend-lease, with Mr. Clark in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas is recognized for 2 hours and the gentleman from Massachusetts for 2 hours.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr.. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 10 minutes. Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, the bill (H. R. 2013) under consideration consists of a single paragraph and merely authorizes the extension for 1 year of the Lend-Lease Act.

Unless this bill is adopted lend-lease will expire on June 30 of this year. The bill merely provides that the time fixed in present law, that is the authorization of lend-lease, be extended for 1 year, to June 30, 1946; and that the second part of lend-lease with reference to the winding up of proceedings under it shall be extended from June 30, 1948, to June 30, 1949.

Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Foreign Affairs gave extensive hearings and consideration to this bill covering I believe a period of about 4 weeks.

Mr. Chairman, the greatest measure, as a matter of policy, that the United States has adopted and has followed during this war has been its operation under lend-lease whereby it pools its defense with its allies and there is no question but that the effective administration of this Lend-Lease Act has brought victory as near as it is at this time. But for the passage of the original Lend-Lease Act the Axis Powers would have long since defeated the Allies. Not a single witness appeared before our committee in opposition to the extension of lend-lease; on the other hand, every one agreed that it is vitally necessary that it be extended at least for another

year in order that complete victory might be won. There was agreement also that failure to extend lend-lease at this time would be hurtful not only to the practical operation of the war but also the psychological effect upon our soldiers, our allies, and our enemies.

When the committee first reported this bill there was a minority report filed objecting to a certain feature of the bill; however, the Committee on Foreign Affairs yesterday had a meeting at which an amendment to the bill as originally reported to the House was considered and agreed to, and will be offered as a committee amendment. This amendment has been very carefully worked out, and after consultation with the majority and minority members of the committee and with the executive branch of the Government was unanimously adopted by the entire committee. In view of that action of the committee, I am authorized to say that the Foreign Affairs Committee is now unanimous in support of the pending measure.

We have also prepared a statement with reference to the purpose and meaning of the proposed committee amendment which we think will be helpful. I shall not read the amendment which the committee will offer at the proper time since it was presented to the House on yesterday by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLoom] who is necessarily absent this morning in attendance upon a conference, being the first meeting of the American delegation appointed to attend the conference at San Francisco. However, the RECORD of yesterday contains the amendment which will be offered, but I thought it might be helpful to read at this time a statement in explanation of the reasons for the amendment.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I note that copies of this statement the gentleman is about to read are available at both desks. I thought possibly some of the Members might wish to follow it while the gentleman is reading the statement.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I thank the gentleman for the suggestion. Copies are available. The statement is not my own personal statement but one prepared yesterday by the committee with great

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Would the gentleman be willing to insert in the Record the full statement? I would be glad to have it in the Record.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. That is my purpose in reading it so that it will be in the Record and if I do not have time I shall ask unanimous consent that the complete statement be inserted in the Record.

## STATEMENT ON PROPOSED COMMITTEE AMENDMENT TO SECTION 3 (C)

The Committee on Foreign Affairs is of the opinion that the Lend-Lease Act is a war supply measure and that section 3 (c) of the act

was intended to provide a 3-year clean-up period within which contracts or agreements with foreign governments might be liquidated in an orderly and efficient manner. This view of the Lend-Lease Act has also been emphasized by the President in his quarterly reports to the Congress and by Mr. Crowley, the Foreign Economic Administrator, Secretary of War Stimson, and all the other witnesses who appeared before the committee in the hearings on H. R. 2013.

In order to reaffirm and to make this purpose of the Lend-Lease Act more explicit, the Foreign Affairs Committee is proposing an amendment to section 3 (c). The committee is unanimous in supporting H. R. 2013 with this amendment added.

The first provision of the proposed amendment expresses the clear intention of Congress that the 3-year period for carrying out contracts or agreements entered into with foreign governments under the Lend-Lease Act does not permit the making or carrying out of contracts for post-war relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. This provision writes into the Lend-Lease Act the principle which the committee believes is implicit in the act and which has been consistently followed by those responsible for the administration of the lend-lease program. The Committee on Foreign Affairs believes that the clear expression by the Congress that the Lend-Lease Act is not a post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction, measure will help to avoid misunderstanding and facilitate the separate consideration by the Congress of appropriate measures to deal with these important and complex post-war problems. The amendment does not bear on the general problem of settlement under the Lend-Lease Act.

The second provision of the amendment relates to the authority which section 3 (c) confers upon the President to carry out until July 1, 1949, a contract or agreement with a foreign government entered into prior to July 1, 1946, or prior to a concurrent resolution by the two Houses, whichever is the earlier. Under this provision a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

The basic purpose of this second provision is to permit the orderly and efficient liquidation of war supply contracts with foreign governments as contemplated by section 3 (c), as originally enacted, through the purchase by foreign governments for cash or on credit of such supplies as may not be produced or delivered in time to be of use in the war. It would continue to permit the making and carrying out of war supply agreements such as that recently concluded with the French Government. This agreement with the French insures the flow of supplies required by them in the prosecution of the war without disruption due to uncertainty as to the termination of the war and arranges for the orderly and efficient liquidation in our national interest of our agreed supply programs and the purchase by the French of such supplies as may be produced too late to be of use in the war and which are not more urgently needed in this country.

The amendment proposed by the Committee on Foreign Affairs is in the language as set out yesterday.

Mr. Chairman, I think the unanimous action and the united front now pre-

sented by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who have considered this legislation from its inception, should commend itself to the House and that there should be no difficulty whatever in the passage of this bill. Since Lend-Lease was first created, we have adopted the policy of renewing it not for 2 years but for a single year. The Congress has thereby kept a check upon the administration of lend-lease, and the renewal each time has enabled us to have before the committee those who have been administering the act. There have been many false rumors made against the administration of the act which have been corrected by Mr. Leo T. Crowley, the able Administrator, and Mr. Oscar Cox, the brilliant general counsel, and others of the administrative staff. I think that now the American people realize the necessity for this legislation. I shall not consume the time of the committee further at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

(Mr. VORYS of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the statement on the proposed committee amendment which the gentleman from Texas has just read is, in my judgment, a very accurate and fair analysis of what the agreed amendment is intended to accomplish, and a fair interpretation of that amendment.

#### PRE-WAR LEND-LEASE

Mr. Chairman, this is the third time lend-lease has come up for extension. Many of us remember that lend-lease came up the first time in 1941 before Pearl Harbor in peacetime. We forget that over a third of our membership was not here at that time. The vote on pre-Pearl Harbor lend-lease was injected into the congressional campaigns of 1942 and 1944. Of those who voted against lend-lease, 56 are no longer here. Of those who voted for lend-lease in 1941, 106 are no longer here. Percentagewise omitting those who are dead or who resigned or retired, 72 percent of those who voted for pre-war lendlease and wanted to stay in Congress, are still here, and 81 percent of those who voted against pre-war lend-lease and wanted to stay in Congress are still here.

This House has overwhelmingly supported lend-lease strictly as a war measure, and the amendment unanimously adopted by our committee limits lend-lease to war supply and does not project it into the post-war picture, so that nothing is to be gained by redebating pre-war peacetime lend-lease.

These figures show, however, that lend-lease is not and never was very popular with the voters, even though it is now a necessary war measure. These figures also show that any foreign policy in order to have general support in this country must have the support of the kind of people, the kind of Congressmen, who were against going to war, who are now loyally supporting our war effort, and who are determined not to turn over vast, unlimited powers to the Executive in peacetime, before or after a war.

The great significance of the committee amendment which will be submitted today, which was originally proposed by the minority and is now unanimously supported, is that it shows complete agreement between the Executive and both parties in Congress that our postwar plans and policies will be submitted to the Congress and that the approval of a majority in both parties is sought for these policies. From now on unity is to be attained not merely by following the leader but by having the Executive, and the Congress, and both parties of Congress pulling together and adjusting their differences so as to present a united front to the world.

#### WARTIME LEND-LEASE

The question before us now is the continuation of lend-lease for another year as a part of our mutual war-aid policy. We have done this twice before since Pearl Harbor; it is imperative We have done this twice before that we do it again. Lend-lease had not accomplished as much as some of its proponents claim and has not been as bad as some of its enemies charge. It has been only a small part, about 15 percent, of our war effort. It has been only a small part, around 20 percent, of the British war effort, and even less of the Russian war effort. The part it has played has been important but it has not been the "supply mechanism" for all of the forces of the Allies. It is not bleeding us white, either. It has become an integral part of our total Allied fighting machine, and must go on as long as the fighting goes on. But we will be wise to remember that 85 percent of our effort in money is not in lend-lease but in direct support of our own gallant millions fighting all over the world, and Britain, Russia, and China are for the most part supplying their own forces in the field. When it comes to mutual gratitude after the war, our allies will probably be more grateful for what we did for the common cause with our own forces than for what we helped them do with their forces.

As Americans, we can well afford to furnish tanks, planes, and guns for boys of other nations to use while risking their lives to kill Japs and Germans. Continuing wartime lend-lease will do this. Voting against it means we insist upon doing it all ourselves. Mutual war aid should be continued to final victory.

#### POST-WAR LEND-LEASE

Now, as to post-war lend-lease, the amendment barring the use of lend-lease as a post-war mechanism is not airtight. it is not even machine-tool tight. The reason is, there will be no airtight division between conditions of war and peace. The amendment prescribes, as clearly as Congress can lay down, directives for the administration as to what the dividing line shall be. But it permits agreements such as the French agreement. There can be honest differences of opinion, and also deliberate abuses, in deciding what and how much of what shall be agreed upon for war use which also has a post-war use. lend-lease arrangements with France, however, have been the most businesslike of all, in many respects.

We have kept war munitions separate from civilian materials, and up to yesterday we had received over \$153,000,000 in cash from the French for the cost of civilian lend-lease supplies we furnished, with \$31,000,000 more now being negotiated. We are winding up lend-lease in north Africa as of July 1, 1945. Under the new agreement, we are to receive 20 percent down payment on all materials we furnished which have a post-war use, and the balance in installments.

The \$2,500,000,000 is more of a limitation on what the French agree to receive than a guaranty of what we will deliver; for while France agrees to accept all that we offer, or pay damages, we do not guarantee to make future deliveries.

We will need to make more transition agreements with other nations besides France. The agreed amendment to be offered will require these transition agreements to provide for payment for whatever is furnished after the war along the lines of the French agreement. We will have to avoid the danger pointed out by Col. W. L. Culbertson, Chairman of our Special Economic Mission to North Africa. Unfortunately, he was heard by our committee in executive session, but I can quote from what he stated in a public address a few weeks ago before the French Chamber of Commerce in New York. I wish the Members would listen to this. He said:

I have found in the discussion of post-war problems, especially across the Atlantic, a tendency to overemphasize the "transition period" after the war. So long as this phrase covers merely a period of active change-over from war economy to peace economy, no exception can be taken to it. But in some plans for the future it seems to be treated as a sort of catch-all into which unsolved and seemingly insoluble problems are dumped in the hope that in some mysterious way they will solve themselves with the passage of time.

He then went on to point out the policy his mission was following, and I quote again. He said:

May I be pardoned if I revert again to the instructions of our mission. In my opinion these reveal a wise approach to this problem. They sought to deal with post-war military problems while they were still flexible and while the issues involved had at least some defenders on both sides. They gave support to the view that to retain wartime controls and Government participation in business after their wartime justification had gone, tends to weld such restrictive practices into a permanent commercial system. It was recognized that adjustments take time but no situation exists which will not yield to constructive treatment if the will exists among the nations to return to a healthy, wealth-creating economic system.

Now, following that line of thought, I want to quote from a statement Mr. Crowley, Administrator of Lend-Lease, gave before our committee. On page 157, he said this:

There is so much talk about lend-lease in the post-war period that I want to be very emphatic about our position in the matter.

I want to say to this committee that I think that sometime soon, through the appropriate committee—it may be the Appropriations Committee—we will have to give the picture as we see it of the amount of funds required and what should be done in the way of giving ald to these people immediately

after the cessation of the war. In these liberated countries, if when the shooting stops we are going to pull out and say, "Now, we are all through," we may find ourselves in quite a lot of difficulty. I think there is going to have to be a short transitory period in some of these countries that the Allied Governments are going to have to take into consideration. I think that is specifically a responsibility of Congress. It is not a part of the Lend-Lease Act.

So this amendment today is offered in the spirit of these quotations I have just given.

Our post-war problems still lie before Congress. We are determined not to use lend-lease as a post-war mechanism. The question still remains, what machinery will we approve? We have already approved U. N. R. R. A. for postwar relief. In spite of the money and power we have given this organization, it has fallen down on the job. We shall soon be asked to approve the Bretton Woods proposal for post-war monetary stabilization and reconstruction financing. We, here in the House, will have responsibilities for the post-war security organization. Our action here today does not mean that we have solved the problems or discharged the post-war responsibilities of Congress. I hope that it means that we will meet these problems by setting up efficient machinery that preserves the form and traditions of our Republic and our kind of economy, with legislative and executive responsibilities clearly separated, with public and private business separated, but with the Executive and the Congress and both parties and businessmen working together to build an American foreign policy that protects the interests and the traditions of our country in meeting our international problems and responsibilities, and our great opportunities that lie ahead.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield. Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. What effect will it have on page 1, by striking out "July 1, 1948" and inserting in lieu

thereof "July 1, 1949"?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. That is the socalled clean-up period. We had a tremendous battle on that in the committee. I was one of those who saw no reason for extending the act that long, and contended that the full powers of lendlease were continued until 1949. Under the amendment which has been agreed upon that 3-year period which has been extended each time we have extended lend-lease for a year, becomes strictly a clean-up period. As to the extent of time needed we do not know. If we do not need all the time, the Congress can cut it off later. If we need more time the Congress can extend the time. If Congress finds that instead of being a cleanup period, there is some abuse of the restrictions we have placed in the amendment today, Congress may then take appropriate action.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. What sum of money in the aggregate has been appropriated up to and including the end of this fiscal year, June 30, 1945?

Mr. VORYS of Ohlo. We have already appropriated and made available through transfers \$64,000,000,000. Of

that about \$35,000,000,000 has been encumbered. The gentleman will find a very full statement in the report and in the hearings.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The other \$31,000,000,000 that has been appropriated has not been encumbered up to this time?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. It has been appropriated to the Army and the Navy with power to transfer to lend-lease, but it has not been definitely appropriated to lend-lease. The distinct lend-lease appropriations have just about been exhausted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, as the distinguished gentleman who preceded me said, the history and purpose of lendleasé have been so frequently discussed on the floor of this House and on the floor of the other body, in the press, and by the people of our country that it is scarcely necessary to indulge in any extended discussion of it. As he said also, it was enacted as a peace measure to the extent that the United States was then at peace. I call attention, however, that while the United States was at peace and although we ardently hoped to remain at peace, all of Europe not only was at war but all of it except the British Isles and Greece had been conquered by Hitler. am not sure therefore that it was, strictly speaking, a peace measure. I recall the reference I made at that time, something to this effect. You will recall that the act was entitled "An act to further the defense of the United States." I believe I made some reference to the effect that the best defense of this country which could then be undertaken was to contribute in anything possible toward keeping the British Navy affoat.

Lend-lease has accomplished important results, as the gentleman from Ohio said. I am not sure that I am in complete agreement about public support of the policy; I believe the people are more strongly in favor of it than the gentleman indicated; but there is no use in arguing that.

Lend-lease has been expensive, yes; war is expensive, destructive, and useless-until you have to get into it: and yet, the billions expended in lend-lease have, I believe, probably contributed as much toward the victory which is in the offing and saved probably more American lives than any other similar expense this country has incurred. It is, of course, more essential now than ever before in order to contribute toward the final victory punch. It is therefore but natural that no witness appeared before the committee in opposition to lendlease. Not only that, frequent references have been made to the amendment which the committee will submit today. My good friend the gentleman who preceded me quoted from Mr. Crowley to the effect that the amendment simply carries out the way he is administering the act already. He could have quoted, as the minority report did, the President of the United States and the Secretary of War

to the same effect, as well as the Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and every single other witness who appeared before the committee; in other words, while we are delighted at the unanimous agreement on this amendment, it is simply the position that the great majority of the committee, including many Members on both sides of the aisle, have taken all along.

While I do not care to indulge in extended discussion of the legislation, there is a new phase of it with which the people are not so familiar as they are with the other phases which I believe deserves attention; therefore, it is my purpose to address my remarks to the French agreement.

It should be borne in mind, in the first place, that we have already under lendlease outfitted 8 French divisions and some 15 000 aviators, several hundred of whom were trained at Tuscaloosa, Ala., in the district it is my privilege to represent. Incidentally, I need not tell you of the magnificent fighting those French poilu and officers have done. It is the purpose to equip at least 8 more French divisions to join their brothers and their American allies in carrying the war on into Germany, on into Tokyo, and wherever necessary. We have with France an agreement that you might say has 3 parts or 3 subdivisions.

There is the master agreement which we have with all lend-lease countries; there is the reverse or reciprocal-aid agreement we have with the United Kingdom and several other countries; and then the so-called 3 (c) agreement, which is entirely new and has not been negotiated with any other country although, as the gentleman from Ohio said, it probably will be negotiated with several other countries to the great benefit of ours.

The whole purpose of this 3 (c) agreement is to, insofar as possible, throw the entire-weight of France, its manpower, its industry, its agriculture, its people in general, behind the war effort.

I quote from a press release of Acting Secretary Grew relative to the signing of this agreement:

The basic purpose of the whole program is to enable all the French resources and the whole French Nation, soldiers, workers, producers, and farmers, to be mobilized and used for the war against the common enemy.

I quote also from the agreement itself: The Government of the United States of America and the Provisional Government of France desire to insure the continuing provision of said articles, services, facilities, or information without interruption owing to any uncertainty as to the day when the military resistance of the common enemy may cease.

I say this is a new phase of lend-lease, brought about by new conditions. What are those new conditions? Never before have we been so near the end of the war. Never before? I am not sure but what we may have been nearer the end of the war back yonder when we passed the original Lend-Lease Act, when Great Britain was on the ropes and when Hitler had conquered all of Europe except Great Britain and heroic little old Greece. With that exception we have never before been nearer the end of the war. Never before has a great country which has been entirely occupied by the enemy been liberated and commenced to function under its own government. So these new conditions required a new agreement which was entirely possible under the 3 (c) section of the Lend-Lease Act. In that agreement supplies are divided into two groups, schedules 1 and 2.

Schedule 1 includes what might be called expendable items, such as raw materials; cotton to be manufactured into uniforms; tents for the American soldiers: synthetic rubber to be manufactured into tires for the use of American and French soldiers; petroleum supplies, freight charges, and so forth.

Schedule 2 includes heavy industry products such as locomotives, machinery, and industrial equipment. Human nature being what it is, and the war being as near its end in Europe as we all hope and reverently pray, it would have been but natural without this 3 (c) phase of the agreement for our officers in charge of lend-lease and the manufacture of these supplies and perhaps even our factories to have slowed up, as it were, or been somewhat reluctant to have continued to produce these goods on a 100percent basis of efficiency and rushed them into France if they believed the war would be over in Europe before they reached there.

So these agreements were signed to meet that situation, as well as for another purpose, so that when the war is over the sale of all of this material which will remain in France will have already been agreed upon instead of having to salvage it then for whatever the Frenchpeople or anyone else would pay for it.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Is this not also true that as to schedule 2, machinery, and so forth, the French pay 20 percent down and the balance on credit, even though that particular item is used up in the war?

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentleman. He is exactly correct. As to the expendable goods under schedule 1, the French agree to pay for any of those goods delivered after the President determines that they are not necessary for the prosecution of the war. As to schedule 2, they pay 20 percent down, as the gentleman says, and the remainder of the entire value in deferred payments. They are all necessary for the war. Many of them will be used in the war, but regardless of whether used or not, as to those schedule 2 items—heavy-industry products—the French are going to pay us on a 100-percent basis. If their use occurs in the war it is a part of their contribution to it.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HERTER. Is it not also true that as far as schedule 1 of the lend-lease agreement that has been concluded with France is concerned, any of the materials contracted for which would be furnished

under ordinary lend-lease for war purposes, should the war end, are then taken over by the French and paid for on the same cash and credit basis as provided for in schedule 2?

Mr. JARMAN. That is quite true.
Mr. HERTER. In addition to that, schedule 2 already has had to be revised in connection with shipping matters.

Mr. JARMAN. That is also true. Mr. HERTER. But schedule 1 has not been revised. Schedule 1 contains an item of some \$220,000,000 for the charter hire of ships which under the extension of lend-lease might carry on until the year 1949. That charter hire would then be paid for on a 20 percent down basis and a 30-year extension of credit for the balance. Can the gentleman tell me why charter hire, which is an immediate thing, should be charged on the basis of a 30-year credit?

Mr. JARMAN. My answer to that is that I consider it preferably for this country to be paid for on a 30-year credit basis than not to be paid at all.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, is this not also the situation regarding schedule 1? Whatever material is expendable, such as food, charter hire, and things like that, that that may be needed right while the fighting is going on, if it is furnished during that period it goes on the regular lend-lease-give-away arrangement with no present payment requirement?

It is only such as is to be furnished after the war is over that is to be paid for at all, and that is to be paid for on this long-term basis; but we do not guarantee to supply any particular amount.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BLAND. With reference to this matter of charter hire, the gentleman who was interrogating the gentleman from Alabama doubtless has received a letter, signed by the Secretary of State, that I sent around this morning to all members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on the Merchant Marine, to the effect that the agreement with the French Government is not to apply to the transfer of title to ships. Since that time I have taken the matter up with Mr. Cox, of the Foreign Economic Administration, and practically the same effect applies as to charter hire. The only provision now under law for leasing ships is for the duration of the war with Germany and Japan, or the one that will last the longer, and 6 months thereafter.

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentleman very much. May I call the attention of the gentleman from Massachusetts to the next note I had, which is that we reserve the right in both of these agreements to withhold any supplies we care to. As the gentleman from Ohio said, we agree to furnish an amount up to that maximum, but the right is reserved to withhold at any time anything we wish. Also, the right of review at any time is reserved. Against that there is a French reservation to the following effect.

Let us take as an example a locomotive and an intricate piece of machinery useful only for war, under section 2, we will say. Let us say the war ends 3 months from now. Both of those articles are under construction; they are being manufactured. The locomotive the French can use in their civilian economy. They can say to us, "Go ahead and finish the locomotive and send it to us and we will pay for it, 20 percent down and the balance on deferred payments. As to the intricate piece of machinery, which we cannot use in our civilian economy, the need for it has passed, the war is over, and we have no use for it. Therefore, we will simply pay you your out-of-pocket loss, that is, what has already been expended in manufacturing it, and you can junk it and forget it.'

As I view this French agreement, the gist of it is that we are arranging now to get percent cash in some cases and the remainder over an extended period for articles many of which will never be used or necessary in the war, although we cannot be sure of that, many of which will be used partially, and some of which may be used considerably. But instead of waiting until that day after it is all over, when we are going to have a big job all over the world, and when that 3-year period that has been talked about will be very, very necessary, I think; instead of waiting until that time and saying to the French "Now we have all this material liere which belongs to us, inasmuch as we have not transferred title to you. It has been used. Some of it is good, some fair, some indifferent, and some worthless. What will you give us for it?"-and you can imagine about what the answer would be-instead, we are indulging in a business deal by arranging in advance to see that the whole effort of France, the maximum effort of that country continues active in this war, and also to be reimbursed substantially, we hope and believe, after it is all over, for this part of our contribution, reimbursed in cash as well as in the assistance of the French Armies and in their great contribution toward our victory. I regard the agreement as very beneficial to this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has again expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, if one talking to a stabilized audience here today, I do not think it would be necessary for me to say much of anything at all. But during the debate, Members come and go and the faces change. Perhaps I should, therefore, say a few things on this legislation which may be of interest to those who did not hear some of the preceding speakers.

We are all aware of the fact that this is the third time we have been called upon to extend the lend-lease legislation. The first time it was extended without change. The second time it was extended with an amendment which was proposed by the minority, discussed at length by the Committee, and at the eleventh hour accepted, so the Committee unanimously supported the extension of lend-lease with the following amendment, which I shall now read, because I think it tends to show the evolution of an expression of opinion on the part of the Congress which it is important to have impressed upon the executive agen-

The amendment which made unanimity among the committee members possible on the second extension of lendlease a year ago reads as follows: It is an amendment to section 3 (b) of the act. It reads:

Provided, however, That nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to authorize the President to assume or incur any obligations on the part of the United States with respect to post-war economic policy, post-war military policy, or post-war policy involving international relations, except in accordance with established constitutional

That amendment was accepted, and it is found on page 59 of the Eighteenth Report of the Lend-Lease Administration to the Members of Congress.

In this third extension of the Lend-Lease Act, the minority members have felt it is important to reenforce, reemphasize, and redeclare that provision because some questions developed during the course of the hearings as to whether through constitutional procedures a loophole had not been left through which the Executive might perchance, in the field of post-war activities, engage in commitments and agreements. For that reason, as you are well aware, five of us signed the minority report expressing our viewpoint, and this report appears in the Congressional Record for Thursday, March 8, page A1174.

However, again, at the eleventh hour. we were called back in committee meeting and the committee reconsidered the situation, and an amendment has been added or proposed to be added at this time, which once more makes it possible for the committee to approach you with unanimity, urging the Congress to extend this Lend-Lease Act.

Some of the history of that amendment has already been given. It is the desire on the part of the members of our committee to put into legislative language an expression of opinion repeated many times by the executive witnesses who appeared before us. There is no difference between their statements of opinion and the desire of the five of us who signed the minority report, except that we believe it to be wise and prudent to put into legislative language that declaration of policy. This amendment does that.

To those of you who have expressed to me this morning the fear that this amendment does not go far enough, that it is weak and vapid, and still leaves loopholes, I can say only that it is as strong and as vigorous and as inclusive as we felt it was possible to draw and have it accepted. We believe it does the Job. With this amendment added, there can be no post-war economic activities by Lend-Lease except through the most

flagrant violation of the intent of Con-

May I call your attention to some of the specific language of this amendment? In the first place, may I point out that the proposed amendment says, "provided nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign power.'

I want to emphasize the words "or carry out." Even in this 3-year clean-up period the President, with the adoption of this amendment, cannot carry out any procedures in violation of the stipulations and inhibitions set up in the amendment. May I point out further that in the amendment on lines 17 and 18 of the committee print it reads "except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of."

It specifically mentions the fact that in this continuing 3-year period the conditions must be the terms of sale, not terms and conditions of lend or of lease.

So we feel this is a strong amendment. a protective amendment, a precautionary amendment, an amendment which should make it possible for friends of lend-lease as an actual war aid, to join with the committee in supporting the amendment and the extension of lendlease for an additional year as amended.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. The gentleman who is not a lawyer gave me a brief interpretation yesterday of what this amendment means, which I wish he would share with the rest of the House.

Mr. MUNDT. I will be happy to do so, because I feel that laymen's interpretations are better than lawyers' interpretations in matters of this kind. amendment means, in short, that in the post-war arrangements there will be no supplying of material on the part of the United States except for cash once the war has been terminated. It means that and that specifically.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield. Mr. BREHM. Is there any reason why this amendment could not have been adopted 2 years ago when some of us were asking for it and so strenuously objected to lend-lease as then written, so that we might have gone along on the roll call which I did not at that time?

Mr. MUNDT. No good reason, I think. But, fortunately, it is still adopted before the emergency which you have anticipated has arisen.

Mr. BREHM. I congratulate the Foreign Affairs Committee on adopting the amendment. I shall now vote for it.

Mr. BUFFETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. BUFFETT. Suppose under lend-lease they decide to give China, for instance, an oil refinery of fifty or a hundred million dollars. They do not have

oil refineries. It would not be post-war rehabilitation. It would not be postwar construction. It would not be postwar relief, but it would be a lot of money and a great expense.

Mr. MUNDT. I think such a transaction would not be legal. I think the gentleman has too narrowly defined the word "rehabilitation." I think putting an oil well in China might well be considered rehabilitation since it would be done to restore or rebuild the economy of China. It could not legally be done under lend-lease as a post-war project under our amendment.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. I think you should have the word "development" in there, in addition to these other words, because at the Bretton Woods Conference they had quite an argument. Some countries like China and the Latin Americas wanted money for development, and they put that additional word into these agreements, because they felt the word "reconstruction" did not cover the word "development." You will find just as much demand for development projects as for reconstruction.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the word "rehabilitation" would cover the word "development" although I make no claim to being a second cousin to a lexicographer.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Nothing with the prefix "re" would cover it. Development means something new.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield. Mr. O'HARA. I wonder if the gentleman can give us the reason behind extendiing this act for such a long period of time, especially in view of the fact that we all hope that the war will be over in Europe this summer. What justification is there for not giving Congress an opportunity to look over what is going on in lend-lease without this long period of extension?

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman is thinking of that 1949 extension period? Mr. O'HARA. The 1949 extension

period; yes.
Mr. MUNDT. I think, with the amendment which has been proposed, and which will be adopted, that the 3-year period becomes of value to the United States because during that time it will be possible for us to evaluate the results-to allow the administrators to look over their books and establish debits and credits and determine what procedures and processes are going to be entered into for recovery and for disposition of surplus material. It also makes possible the carrying out of long-term contracts which may be in process of fabrication. Thus, it is limited to the pulling back to this country of the strings of lend-lease in a clean-up proposal, so there is nothing to fear in that 1949 date

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Would the proposed amendment permit the sale of munitions to a nation which might become an aggressor nation against this country?

Mr. MUNDT. I think any nation can become an aggressor nation against this country. If history has taught me anything it has taught me that when we have new wars we sometimes change partners from the war we had last time; so I think any of these things might conceivably be used against us.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But this legislation applies only to this war. Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not to any future

Mr. MUNDT. As to any future war they would have to save the munitions, keep them well oiled and in good condition if they were going to use them against us. We hope such weapons would be largely obsolete before any new war could break out. We all hope for an enduring peace.

Mr. DONDERO. For 3 years following termination of this war we still would be able to sell munitions to other countries.

Mr. MUNDT. No; no new sales.

Mr. DONDERO. I understood the gentleman to say that the provision for sale would include munitions of war.

Mr. MUNDT. No; no new sales but only a 3-year period during which to complete contracts entered into before the expiration of the act.

Mr. DONDERO. This applies only to contracts entered into during the life of the act.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct, and it provides for materials furnished or held after post-war to be paid for on a cash basis rather than on a lend-lease basis.

A CHALLENGE TO THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

I wish to continue without interruption now, for I have a few words to address to the Committee on Appropriations. I want to refer to two other items beside this amendment.

The first is the disposition of surplus property by lend-lease. It had been my intention originally to offer an amendment which would require lend-lease to utilize surplus property in making available to other people American supplies, but in an interchange of letters with the Lend-Lease Administration I have been advised that that is presently the practice and the policy, and that in fact it is interpreted to be the present law. So that at the present time if lend-lease procurement officials conform with the spirit and the letter of the laws of Congress they do consult surplus property agencies before entering into any contract for new supplies made available to other countries. So I believe such an amendment would be mere surplusage at this time.

I have one other section I wish to discuss briefly before I yield further; that is the use of section 6 (b) of the act which is known as the revolving fund. This, in my opinion, has not received the close scrutiny and attention of the Congress and the country which it merits. Page 25 of the hearings shows there are about \$556,000,000-well over half a billion-in this revolving fund. I had an amendment to this bill in mind striking out that entire section of the bill, thinking perhaps that might be a proper approach to this problem. I have decided

against that because it seems to me that today section 6 (b) has become a definite. established procedure in the lend-lease administrative bookkeeping processes, and it is one of the established methods by which sales are made through Lend-Lease and the receipts recorded. Certinly there has been no abuse of the money in the revolving fund thus far but it still is a half-billion dollar fund.

So it occurs to me that a more orderly approach and the proper approach for this Congress to make would be for the Committee on Appropriations, in determining the amount of money they are going to make available to Lend Lease in the next fiscal year, to make a close check of the half billion or more dollars available in the revolving fund and to use that as an offset against the amount of money requested for the continuance of Lend Lease. Thus we could achieve the purposes and the objectives without impairing the present bookkeeping procedure by which the revolving fund is built up.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I am happy to yield. Mr. JARMAN. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that section 6 contains very definite limitations as to the funds. The Bureau of the Budget must approve the expenditure of the funds for the same purpose; and I believe the testimony is that invariably what the Director of the Bureau has done has been simply to certify it to the Appropriations Committee, and practically what he desires is being done. Is not that correct?

Mr. MUNDT. That is approximately correct, although the bill also provides for that money to be spent in that fiscal year or in the succeeding fiscal year.

Mr. JARMAN. I was just going to refer to that. There is another limitation, it is not an unlimited proposition. It could not be used for more than 24 months.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right.

Mr. JARMAN. It could not be used beyond 24 months and to all intents and purposes it amounts to an extension of . about 18 months.

Mr. MUNDT. I call this matter to the attention of the Congress and point it out to the Appropriations Committee simply to illustrate that there is over a \$500,000,000 deposit to the credit of America in this account which might well be used as an offset when the time comes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 4 additional minutes.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. I want to refer to the report given by Mr. Daniels on December 31, 1944. According to the chart there indicated, we have given for lend-lease \$35,300,000,000, and we have received in

reverse lend-lease, according to this chart on page 29, approximately \$4,000,-000,000, leaving \$32,000,000,000 yet to be received in some manner. What arrangement has been made by our Government with these foreign countries so that these obligations may either be paid or a disposition of the obligation made under lend-lease?

Mr. MUNDT. I may say no arrangements have been completely consummated to that up to the present time. The whole thing is in the status of flux. The processes of lend-lease are still going on and the processes of lend-lease in reverse are still coming in. We have this 3-year extension period during which we can make these adjustments at the proper time.

Mr. RICH. If we were interested in the United States of America, is this not the time to be dealing with those foreign countries in some sort of manner whereby our country might be protected in its interests, especially the people and the taxpayers of our country? Should we not be dealing with them now?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes, sir. We should be dealing with them now and I hope we are, but obviously the dealings are not going to be spread out on the floor of the House of Representatives because they are in process of consummation. We should be dealing with them now

and I hope we are.

Mr. Chairman, I want to point out that this cash receipt feature of lend-lease and the revolving fund I have already mentioned, from now on should well be stepped up tremendously, because as we approach this French type of agreement and receive down payments on a cash basis, and as we approach the end of the war as we all hope in the European theater, there is a likelihood that the cash receipts in 6 (b) will be stepped up tremendously. Consequently it is important that the Appropriations Committee probe into the desirability of setting up precautionary legislation under the Ramseyer rule which will prevent any misuse or extravagance in those funds. I want to throw out that thought to be considered by the Appropriations Committee.

It is also true, in my opinion, that the Appropriations Committee should give careful attention to a tendency on the part of the Lend-Lease Administration to use increasing liberality in its definition of what comprises material or supplies to be provided under lend-lease. We started out with weapons of war, food, and things of that kind. The war has become pretty large and the interpretations had to be pretty liberal. We are now, however, including prefabricated houses built for the factory districts of London. I do not know how far we should go; however, this is a job, too, to which the Appropriations Committee should give its attention.

Up to now only the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House has apparently scrutinized carefully lend-lease and all the significant changes ever made in the law have been made in our committee. In the other body, lend-lease has skidded through with about as little attention as a routine supply bill. The Appropriations Committee has established no restrictions and I submit that we should invite the cooperation of the other committees and branches of the Congress in safeguarding as much as pos-

sible the lend-lease activities in the future.

It is important too, Mr. Chairman, that the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate-especially the Appropriations Committee of House—scrutinize very carefully requests from the Lend-Lease Administration for the carrying out of agreements such as the one recently signed with the French. To the extent that Congress retains a tight check on the expenditures and appropriations of Lend-Lease, to that extent Congress retains control of its activities and its projects. To the extent that we fail to regulate the expenditures of Lend-Lease, to that extent we delegate our responsibility to members of the executive branch of government. It is on this point that I urge that the House Committee on Appropriations examine with increased and increasing care the purposes for which lend-lease funds are requested.

France is in many ways a special case. France is a fighting ally in this war whose countryside and cities have been overrun by war machines. France is presently serving as a base for our military operations. It was right that we should make an agreement with the French to supply under the terms of lend-lease some of the material which she needs and the French agreement appears to be a just and equitable manner in which to determine the basis upon which our assistance to France should be made available.

. However, we should move slowly and with considerable care in extending this type of agreement and before authorizing the expenditure of vast sums for similar agreements in cases where the persuasive arguments are less compelling. Uncle Sam has about reached the bottom of his barrel. We must begin measuring our generosity and good intentions in terms of our capacity to pay and the requirements of our national solvency. Before another large appropriation is authorized for lend-lease our Appropriations Committee should secure a clear-cut and detailed break-down of how the money is to be spent and of what further agreements if any along the line of the French agreement are in prospect. As we redefine and restrict the powers of Lend-Lease today in extending it another year we should do so with the hope and confidence that our Appropriations Committee will redouble its efforts to restrict to absolute essentials the purposes for which additional lend-lease funds will be appropriated.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. TRIMBLE].

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Chairman, I shall leave to the senior members of the committee the discussion of the tangible re-

mittee the discussion of the tangible results of lend-lease and the tangible phases of it. As a new Member of Congress, in my brief time I would like to discuss what I think are some of the intangible results of the program.

Mr. Chairman, I consider the lendlease program one of the great accomplishments of the Congress; and certainly one of the most productive for.

good during the war period. I was impressed by the oneness of the testimony of the witnesses who testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee—and we had many witnesses to appear before the committee. The testimony was convincing; that the lend-lease program has been a success, that it had enabled our allies to put armies in the field in quick time, thereby indirectly saving the lives of many of our own men. It also kept the enemy off balance and enabled us, at a time when the tides of fortune were lowest, to resist with determination and skill.

But this great advantage of lend-lease is outweighed, to my mind, by another benefit growing out of it. Through lend-lease we have been permitted to sit down around the council table with our allies and through the perils of adversity we have formed friendships that will mean much to us as a nation in the difficult year ahead.

Cyrus once said:

All men have their frailties; and whoever looks for a friend without imperfections will never find what he seeks. We love ourselves notwithstanding our faults and we ought to love our friends in like manner.

And Colton at another time said:

The firmest friends have been found in mutual adversity; as iron is most firmly united by the flercest flame.

Certainly out of the crucible of this war and our work together we have learned to understand each other's faults and each other's virtues and, I think, have unselfishly tried to forge a bond of friendship among the nations who are our allies. Our duty as Members of the Congress and as parents is to do all that we possibly can to look beyond our own personal inconveniences and heartaches, and to work and vote for those things that will make secure the generations that will follow us.

Youth is the future. Youth is interested in the program of the Congress; its effort to create good will. Youth is interested in lend-lease; and from the smoke and stench of battle youth thinks of better conditions in the world of the future and hopes that his children will not have to undergo the trials which he now endures.

I like a little poem which I read not long ago, written by Elsie Robinson, which tells what I want to say far more beautifully than I could ever do, entitled "Youth Speaks":

The sky is black; The storm howls at the pane; The trails my father And his father knew. The paths they followed, The good fields they plowed Are swamped beneath the uproar Of the flood: The sheltered garden Which my mother grew And where we children played In peaceful days, That, too, is blotted out With all the rest: There is no spot On all this mad, sick star Where one may rest Or feel secure, They're gone, The world's at war. Am I, too, lost

In that same Hell of hate? Am I, too, doomed Because I'll never know The carefree, laughing years My elders knew, Are there to be No April dusks for me, Cobwebbed with stars? No singing dawns When all the air's Apulse with ecstasy? Must I plod on Through the years bereft of dreams, Robbed of all reason and delight, As lost as some dead thing The flood has spewed From out its grave? Am I, too, lost Because my elders Went insane with hate And must the very air Be poisoned for me Evermore? Am I, too, lost? Beneath the screams and sobs, The senseless waiting, And the racking pain. My heart cries "No!" I am not lost! There is within me something Which no storm can kill. Something that lasts Though all the old ways pass And young dreams dim: Something that neither hate Nor greed nor fear can change-\_\_\_ Something,
A spark God planted In my shapeless clay When first He molded me And called me son, I am not lost! Though all the rest shall change This spark lives on trumphant And, from the bloody rubble At my feet I'll build a cleaner, Better, larger world In days to come: I am not lost As long as God lives on!

Out of this backlog of good will we are building we can leave a heritage to the youth of the land.

I hope that the bill H. R. 2013 is passed by this House by a unanimous vote.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may desire.

Mr. Chairman, all through the hearings on lend-lease I took the position that we should continue lend-lease as a mutual military-aid measure but that it should not be used as a post-war mechanism for post-war rehabilitation or for post-war reconstruction.

At first we who shared this view were unable to limit lend-lease to war use. Several of us filed a minority report, in which we insisted it should be confined to a mutual war-aid measure, and postwar rehabilitation and reconstruction policy should be separately and specifically authorized by Congress.

We have now succeeded in writing into this measure limitations which would prohibit the President from entering into or carrying out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for postwar relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction, with a single exception. There may be a sale of defense articles to a foreign government when they are no longer necessary for use by such government in the defense of the United States. This seems to me

to be along the proper lines and is a step in the right direction.

Under the circumstances, therefore, I do not believe additional amendments will be offered by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I intend to support and vote for this measure.

(Mr. CHIPERFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman].

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks)

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, it may safely be said, I believe, that we are all in favor of extending the Lend-Lease Act for another year. It has been said by high officials that it would be unthinkable not to do so, and I agree that it would not be wise to even think of discontinuing the Lend-Lease Act.

On the other hand, high officials in the administration, from the President down, are equally agreed that lendlease should end with the war. As President Roosevelt said in the seventeenth lend-lease report:

Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease are a system of combined war supply. It should end with the war.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of the American people are agreed that it should continue to the end of the war but should with equal certainty end with the war.

The purpose of the committee amendment which you will find recited in yesterday's Congressional Record, is to accomplish both of these objectives. Neverthless the attainment of these objectives will depend, under this legislation, entirely on the good faith of the administration. Under modern conditions, where war has become an all-out war, and almost every commodity, with the exception of a few luxuries, can be considered as necessities for carrying on the war, it is a simple matter to designate and classify articles primarily for civilian use, as defense articles. seems to me that this is just what has been done in the French agreement of February 28, 1945, making a lend-lease agreement for post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction by the simple expedient of executing it before the war is ended and calling it war necessity.

The so-called French lend-lease contract consists of three distinct agreements: First, a master agreement identical with those entered into with the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, and other countries; second, a reciprocal aid agreement similar to those entered into with the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and others; and, finally, third, an agreement under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act for the benefit of France only. No one can successfully deny that under the first and second agreements we would be able to give France all the military lendlease she needs for the purpose of winning the war and until the day of victory. This has been true of the master agreements with all the other nations, and France would not be an exception.

Why then do we need the third agreement under 3 (c), unless it is for postwar use? The agreement with France under 3 (c) gives the answer in the following words:

In the preliminary agreement of February 28, 1945, between the Government of the United States of America and the Provisional Government of France on the principles applying to mutual aid, each contracting Government undertakes to provide the other with such articles, services, facilities, and information useful in the prosecution of their common war undertaking as each may be in a position to supply.

The Government of the United States of America and the Provisional Government of France desire to insure the continuing provision of such articles, services, facilities or information without interruption owing to any uncertainty as to the date when the military resistance of the common enemy may cease; and desire to insure further that such articles, services, facilities, or information as shall be agreed to be furnished by the United States for the purpose of providing war aid to the Provisional Government of France shall be disposed of and transferred, following a determination by the President that such aid is no longer necessary to the prosecution of the war, in an orderly manner which will best promote their mutual interests.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am glad to yield.
Mr. VURSELL. My question is for the purpose of obtaining information. I was led to believe by what I saw in the press that this extra lend-lease agreement was based upon some sort of a contract; that it was a loan of something like \$2,-500,000,000 on which France was to pay us an interest rate and finally liquidate it over a period of years. Is that true or not?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes; that is true. If the gentleman will bear with me, I will cover that a little later in my statement

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. O'HARA. I have been concerned over the shortage of farm machinery in the Middle West section of the country, and I am disturbed by information which I have received relative to a considerable amount of farm machinery that has been shipped under lend-lease. We have difficulty out there in getting some very necessary farm machinery for our farmers. I wonder if the gentleman has anything to offer in the way of comfort to our farmers who cannot get the farm machinery which this bill would authorize to be furnished to foreign countries under lend-lease agreements; or under the system which now exists?

Mr. JONKMAN. I know of nothing in the lend-lease agreement which would change that process. Schedule I contains provision for \$250,000,000 to France of short-lived machinery; whatever that is, I do not know. Schedule II contains another provision for \$100,000,000, and the other for \$150,000,000 for various kinds of machinery for production.

Mr. O'HARA. A great deal of the farm machinery of this country has deteriorated to such an extent that one might say their life has expired. Has anybody given any consideration to

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not know that it is covered by the lend-lease agreement.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. Can the gentleman tell us when the post-war period commences under the proposed committee amendment? Is that when hostilities have ended or when the war is officially declared by the Congress to be ended?

Mr. JONKMAN. Of course, the gentleman well knows that is something which has been discussed a great deal. Nobody knows when the war is going to end. I mean, when the war will have ended or what will end the war.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. That is right. As I recollect, after the last war, it was 1921 before it was officially declared to be ended.

Mr. JONKMAN. And it could have

ended 12 or 18 months earlier.
Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. That is right. What assurance do we have that this war, let us say particularly the war with Germany, shall be declared to be ended in 1948 when hostilities may cease in April, we hope, of 1945?

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not think we have any assurance whatsoever.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. May I ask one more question? Assuming that the war against Japan is carried on for a matter of 2 years after the war with Germany ends, could not lend-lease be continued as to all these European countries during that interim period?

Mr. JONKMAN. There is not any question about that.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield. Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. What assurance do we have with the committee amendment that it will terminate all of this rehabilitation and reconstruction aid after the war?

Mr. JONKMAN. None whatsoever except the good faith of the administration.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Then the amendment does not really make it mandatory to stop this post-war rehabilitation?

Mr. JONKMAN. Under a statement made by a man who I think has tremendous influence in the policy making of this Government, who is one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who said sometime ago "the notion that because the words of a statute are plain, that, therefore, the meaning is also plain, is just pernicious oversimplification."

Under that definition I do not think you can frame words that would protect the American people.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Can the gentleman tell me why it is there are so many people in high places who want to literally take the shirts off the backs of the American people and give it away?

Mr. JONKMAN. I presume because it is to their personal benefit.

Mr. COLE of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield. Mr. COLE of New York. Did the gentleman inquire to what extent, if any, American naval vessels have been turned over to our allies under the lend-lease act, if it is not a matter of secrecy?

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not think that matter was gone into.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Does the gentleman appreciate that under the amendment there is nothing to prevent them using lend-lease money to build a proposed T. V. A. on the Yangtze River in China?

Mr. JONKMAN. I would not say that I am fully aware of that, but I suspect it.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. They have recently put about 15 percent of the total expenditure of lend-lease into the money for France, and they attempt to justify it on the ground that that is the only way they could get France into the war, and perhaps they will pay afterward, although that does not seem to be very important. There are many countries like Turkey and others who have decided to come into the war, now that it is practically over, in order to get in at the peace table and get their adequate consideration. Does the gentleman think that we dare vote for this thing in view of the fact that amounts like that have been given to France, and if other countries come into the war at this late date and might be treated similarly, we might pay almost as much for lend-lease postwar consideration as we have paid during the war, for no obvious purpose that

Mr. JONKMAN. I will say that at least it should cause us to pause and reflect, and I think be filled with more or less apprehension.

Mr. VURSELL. Will the gentleman vield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. VURSELL. At the conclusion of the last war the gentleman will remember we had in bacon and sugar and edible commodities about \$2,500,000,000 over in France. France was our ally then to a greater extent than she is now and the French Government immediately passed an export bill which provided that it could not be exported, and we had to finally let them keep it there at about 16% cents on the dollar. I am wondering when all the defaults were made at that time by the French Government, if we should afford now to believe that we have a fair opportunity of ever getting any appreciable part of the \$2,500,000,000 that is proposed to go to France under this lend-lease loan agreement.

Mr. JONKMAN. I would not bank on it sufficiently to spend any part of it.

In this particular 3 (c) agreement there are two schedules, one a list totaling one billion six hundred and seventy-five million, and the other totalling nine hundred million. The second schedule is ostensibly and admittedly more adapted to post-war use than the first, but both. to a layman at least, bear the earmarks

of post-war-reconstruction-end use rather than war-end use, and, of course, immediately upon the ending of the war, be that tomorrow or any other day, will be for the former purpose. In fact, the Acting Secretary of State, Joseph C. Grew, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Foreign Economic Administrator Leo T. Crowley in an official statement on February 28, published in the New York Times, March 1,

The first two agreements with the French are based on the same principles as the lend-lease and reverse lend-lease agreements made by the United States with our other allies. The third agreement is the first to be concluded with any of the United Nations. similar agreement is in negotiation with the Soviet Union.

Supplies and services under schedule 1 do not include finished armament, etc., for the use of French military forces. Up to the extent that they are not found to be necessary in the joint war effort by the President, any undelivered balances of schedule l items may, subject to the reservation of the President to withhold in the national interest, be acquired by the French. Such items are to be paid for by the French in 30 annual installments, beginning July 1, 1946, or on the 1st day of July following delivery with interest at 2% percent per an-

In other words, all that is necessary to vitiate the effect of the committee amendment is for administration officials to say that what are in fact postwar rehabilitation and reconstruction supplies, are needed and necessary for the winning of the war, and then to execute the agreements while the war is on and carry them out under the 3-year period provided in 3 (c). All this without Congress being permitted to pass upon it, except by way of implementing the agreements by appropriations. There is the further consideration that only thirty-five billions of the seventy-odd billions already appropriated by Congress for lend-lease have been expended, leaving some thirty-five billions which would in all probability be available for this purpose.

In addition, it must be considered that there have been what I consider something more than mere rumors of agreements similar to the French agreement in the process of making with Russia, the United Kingdom, and perhaps will be with China, Holland, Belgium, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired. Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Would it be possible to construe the language of this bill as authorizing the President to enter into commitments now to be fulfilled perhaps 10 or 15 years from now?

Mr. JONKMAN. That is what I just got through saying—that very thing. There is nothing to prevent their doing that, and I believe that is what they are doing in the case of the French now. If the French agreement is proceeded with, that is what they are going to do in the case of the Russian, the United Kingdom, and Chinese agreements.

Mr. KNUTSON. Certainly I do not believe either side of the aisle would be willing to confer powers of that kind that extend way into the next decade. To me that is indefensible.

Is there a minority report on this measure from the committee?

Mr. JONKMAN. There is a minority report.

Mr. Chairman, in the Committee on Foreign Affairs hearings I tried to ascertain something of the probability of other agreements with other nations similar to the French agreement through questions as follows:

Mr. Jonkman. Mr. Crowley, is it your opinion that the proposed or talked-of six billion credit to Russia can be handled under lend-lease on the same general principles as the two billion, five hundred million to France?

Mr. Crowley. Certainly we do not have any money available for that. I would assume that any amount of that size would have to be appropriated by Congress. That is a matter that is entirely outside lend-lease.

Mr. Jonkman. But assuming you had that

appropriation?

Mr. Crowley. If Congress gave us the money and told us we should use it for that purpose, I suppose we would do that. But the six billion credit is not connected with supplies for the war.

Mr. Jonkman. Don't you think that this thirty-five billion total appropriation which has been appropriated directly to the Army and Navy would be available for that purpose?

Mr. CROWLEY. No.

Mr. Davidson. It would not be available for that purpose. The Russian interest in this six billion loan is with respect to post-war supplies. There is no relationship to the carrying on of the war. I think we all agree that the only purpose of the Lend-Lease Act is to furnish supplies which will help in the defense of the United States.

Mr. Crowley. Even though next Monday morning one of our allies came along and paid us \$10,000,000,000 on their debt—which is going quite a long ways—I would not assume that we would have a right to take that \$10,000,000,000 and loan it to Russia for a period of 25 or 30 years without the consent of Congress under the Lend-Lease Act.

Mr. JONKMAN. I quite agree with you on that. But what is the difference between Russia and others? I think you have already answered that, but I want to be certain.

Mr. DAVIDSON. There are two categories of supplies in which they are interested. The \$6,000,000,000 figure you mention relates to equipment which the Soviet Union wants for post-war purposes.

There is another category of a very much smaller amount which they need for carrying on the war. Those are the items which are included in the Russian 3 (c) proposal which we made last summer

Mr. Jonkman. Why do you distinguish between the \$900,000,000 that is going to be advanced to France and the \$6,000,000,000 to Russia?

Mr. DAVIDSON. The \$6,000,000,000 bears no relation to the war.

Mr. Jonkman. Do you claim that the \$900, 000,000 advanced to France does?

Mr. DAVIDSON. Yes.

Now, it would seem that in the above questioning I did not get very far or secure very much information, and yet

I got further than the record shows. I do not wish to make a mountain out of a molehill, but in the transcript, one of these paragraphs read:

There is another category of a much smaller amount which they need for carrying on the war. I think that is in the range of around \$500,000,000. Those are the items which are included in the Russian 3 (c) proposal which we made last summer.

In checking the galley proof I noticed that the statement, "I think that is in the range of around \$500,000,000" missing, and upon turning to the transcript I found that it had been crossed out and deleted; I do not know by whom, or why this was done, but it was the only part of the answers that was specific and satisfactory to me, because by identifying a \$500,000,000 agreement, I assumed that I had eliminated the \$6,000,000,000 post-war agreement. And it is precisely this paucity of information and apparent reluctance to give information that makes me wonder whether the French agreement is only the beginning of similar agreements for post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction with other nations. For as a matter of fact a far more frank and complete statement had already appeared in the New York Times of March 1, the day after the agreements were signed. There was not only the text of the official statement already referred to, but a newspaper article running alongside of it which is as follows:

A lend-lease agreement was signed with France at the State Department today, providing, for the first time, for the furnishing of civilian goods and equipment useful not only for the prosecution of the war but for reconstruction in the period following the cessation of hostilities. The maximum amount stipulated in the civilian-goods program was \$2,575,000,000.

Announcement was made at the same time that a similar agreement on civilian goods is in the process of negotiations with the Soviet Union. According to some reports, Russia has been seeking a total in this category of about \$6,000,000,000.

The civilian-goods program was worked out under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act, which permits the delivery of any lend-lease materials that are on order or are in process of construction or delivery, in fulfillment of contract terms over 3 years after the war, during which time arrangements will be made for settlement.

Resort was said to have been made to this section for the first time in view of the urgency of post-war reconstruction in Europe and the failure, to date, of Congress to enact measures covering repeal of the Johnson Act against foreign loans, approval of plans for an international bank worked out at the Bretton Woods Conference, and expansion of the lending powers abroad of the R. F. C.

All of them were specified to apply to military purposes, although the civilian goods and equipment will, of course, be highly useful in reconstruction after the war.

The amount of aid to be furnished under the standard master lend-lease agreement was not announced; although, manifestly, it will depend on military factors in development of the war.

I could quote at great length from this official text given out by Messrs. Grew, Morgenthau, and Crowley, as well as the news item which accompanied it as announcements from these officials in addi-

tion to the text of the statement. However, I think this is sufficient to give a far better picture of the status and intent of the French agreement, as well as the proposed Russian agreement for \$6,000 .-000,000. When we consider that these may be followed by five billion to England and six billion to China and other nations that may desire post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction, it is sufficient to cause the American people to pause, reflect, and become apprehensive as to where this program will end: and all this without any opportunity for Congress to pass upon it as is to be done in the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, the Bretton Woods proposals for an international bank and stabilization fund, as well as the other post-war economic rehabilitation measures.

Last week Congress passed the bill increasing the debt limit to \$300,000,000,000,000.

Output the beginning of the thirties the total wealth of the United States, representing an accumulation of 150 years, was estimated at \$320,000,000,000 with a national debt of twenty billions, or a net worth of just about equal to what our national debt will be in a few months, and which is now estimated at two hundred and forty billions. In other words, we will have spent our entire accumulation of 150 years. There is a limit somewhere.

We, of course, can spare no expense in the winning of the war. The American people also will want to help the stricken nations to help themselves. But before measures are taken for such an ambitious program in rehabilitation and reconstruction, Congress should have an opportunity to pass upon them. This action of Congress should not be circumvented and bypassed through the making of agreements for post-war aid under the guise that they are win-the-war contracts.

I shall vote for the bill in the hope that the administration will carry out the intent of Congress as provided in the committee amendment.

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Bland].

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries has been holding hearings on the so-called ship-sales bill. In the course of the hearings last Friday before the committee the attention of your committee was directed to a recent agreement between the United States and the Provisional Government of France, whereby the United States undertook to transfer certain articles and services to the Provisional Government of France, including articles defined as merchant marine, of an estimated cost of \$140,000,000harbor craft, fishing fleets, and inlandwater craft. There was considerable confusion occasioned by reason of the reading of the agreement and the provisions with reference to it.

I have a letter dated March 12, 1945, from the Secretary of State and the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, which I shall read if I may do so under the rules of the House.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to read this letter,

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BLAND. The letter reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 12, 1945.
The Honorable Schuyler Otis Bland,

Chairman, Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Bland: We understand that at the hearings on the ship-disposal bill, H. R. 1425, held on March 9, 1945, a question was raised with respect to the possible transfer of vessels as part of a war supply program to the Provisional Government of France under the 3 (c) lend-lease agreement, signed February 28, 1945. It was alleged that this agreement provided for terms of payment for vessels which would be more favorable than those granted to citizen purchasers under the provisions of H. R. 1425.

In view of the fact that ship-disposal legislation is now under consideration by Congress, the Department of State and the Foreign Economic Administration have agreed with M. Monnet, Speciai Envoy of the Provisional Government of France, that there will be no transfer of title of ocean-going merchant vessels under the terms of the 3 (c) lend-lease agreement. If at some subsequent time it becomes necessary to consider transfer of vessels to France or to any other foreign government, the provisions of such legislation as may then exist bearing on the subject will be followed.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.,

Secretary of State.

LEO T. CROWLEY,

Administrator,

Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. Chairman, some question arose as to the possible effect of charter agreements and, as I previously stated today, I understand from Mr. Oscar Cox, Deputy Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, that there are no charter agreements made or to be made other than the merely lend-lease agreements which are authorized by law and which are to expire at the conclusion of the war with Germany or Japan, whichever may occur the later, and 6 months thereafter. So that as to these particular items, plus the amendment which will be offered here today as a committee amendment, I think the situation is taken care of with reference to disposal of ships. The terms appearing in the French agreement are different from those in the bill now appearing before the committee and, if adopted, would have led to confusion in its consideration, but it will be noted that the letter reads that "if at some subsequent time it becomes necessary to consider the transfer of vessels to France or to any other foreign government, the provisions of such legislation as may then exist bearing on the subject will be followed.

Communications from the State Department and a report made on March 3, as I recall, to the committee show that no definite commitments have been made.

The letter from Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, March 3, 1945.

The Honorable Schuyler CTIS BLAND,
Chairman, Committee on Merchant Marine

and Fisherics, House of Representatives.
MY DEAR MR. BLAND: Reference is made to your letter of January 15, 1945, in which you request further information concerning arrangements or agreements with other countries involving commitments for the transfer of vessels after the war.

No arrangements or agreements committing the United States to post-war disposition of vessels to foreign governments or foreign individuals have been made by this Government or by its authorized representatives. However, agreements have been made with Norway, Brazii, and Chile which provide in general terms for aid in replacement or rehabilitation. The Department of State takes the position that these agreements should be honored in their spirit and that the absence of similar arrangements with our other allies who have likewise lost tonnage in the common war effort should not preclude reasonable consideration of their morehant marine problems.

merchant-marine problems.

Information concerning the lend-lease agreement with Norway was furnished with the Department's letter of December 11, 1944. While that agreement does not constitute a commitment to replace lost Norwegian ships, it is in the nature of an assurance of the willingness of this Government to assist in the rehabilitation of Norway's merchant fleet.

On September 30, 1942, this Government entered into an agreement with the Government of Brazil relating to the chartering by Brazil of 13 vessels to the United States and the maintenance in service between the United States and Brazii of 23 additional Braziiian vessels. This agreement provided for charter hire of \$1 per vessel per month. principal consideration, however, was an obligation to replace lost vessels, in accordance with article 9 of the agreement, a copy of which is attached. The agreement of September 30, 1942, has been replaced by one of April 14, 1944, at which time the chartered vessels were returned to Brazil. In consideration of an agreement on the part of Brazil to maintain certain vessels in service between the United States and Brazil, and to assume responsibility for the carriage of a minimum quantity of cargo in that trade, certain features of the replacement article of the previous agreement were retained. A copy of article 5 of the April 14, 1944, agreement is enclosed.

On July 31, 1943, the United States entered into an agreement with the Government of Chile upon the occasion of the sale to this Government of three Chilean motor vesseis and the chartering of substitute freighter tonnage to Chile. Article 3 of this agreement, a copy of which is attached, relates to the right of the Chilean Government to acquire vesseis in the United States after the war.

Aithough a considerable number of ships have been turned over to Great Britain during the course of the war, the arrangements under which these vessels were chartered contain no commitments with reference to post-war disposition of the vessels concerned. In this connection it is pertinent to call to your attention the following statement made in the eleventh report to Congress on lend-lease operations, for the period ended July 31, 1943:

"\* \* While our merchant fleet has

been growing, that of Britain has been dwindling due to sinkings and to the fact that she has not built many replacements but has instead relied on us for production of merchant ships. The British, therefore, have a reserve of experienced seamen. To utilize the services of these men, we will charter to the United Kingdom about 15 new

ships a month for the next 10 months. These ships are being chartered only for the duration of the war; title will remain with the United States Government, and the uses to which they may be put will be determined by the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board \* \* \*."

With reference to your inquiry concerning the formation of a Shipping Division in the Department, I am enciosing a copy of Departmental Order 1301. Mr. J. E. Saugstad is Chief of the Shipping Division.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH C. GREW, Acting Secretary. COPY OF ARTICLE 9 OF SEPTEMEER 30, 1942,

AGREEMENT WITH BRAZIL

ART. 9. If during the life of this agreement any of the vessels enumerated in article 1 and article 3 be lost, the United States Government obligates itself—

(1) To repiace such lost vessel after the war with a vessel of similar size, tonnage,

and characteristics; or

(2) If unable to effect such replacement, to tay to the Brazilian Government the amount required by the Brazilian Government in order to purchase a replacement vessel of similar size, tonnage, and characteristics.

The sums required to be paid in accordance with this article and the number, tonnage, and characteristics of the replacement vessels shall be determined by a mixed commission to be established by the two Governments within 30 days after the end of the hostilities in which the United States and Brazil are at present engaged.

# COPY OF ARTICLE 5 OF APRIL 14, 1944, AGREEMENT WITH PRAZIL

5. The United States Government will, after the war, repiace any vessel totally lost as the result of a war casualty, as provided in the attached exhibit which is incorporated into and forms a part of this agreement, occurring during the period of its service under this agreement. Partial losses from war risks and total or partial marine risk losses are expressly excluded, and insurance against such losses will not be provided by the United States Government. The replacements to be made after the war shall, in each case, be by a vessel of approximately similar dimensions, tonnage, and characteristics, and of comparable value to the lost The values of both replacement vessel and lost vessel shaii be established by the mixed commission hereinafter referred to on the basis of United States market values current at or about the time of replacement. If for any reason the United States Government is unable or unauthorized to effect such replacement, it will pay to the Brazilian Government an amount required by the Brazilian Government to purchase such a replacement vessel. The sums required to be paid in accordance with this paragraph and the characteristics of the replacement vessel shall be determined by a mixed commission to be estallished by the two Governments within 60 days after the end of the hostilities in which the United States and Brazil are at present engaged.

# COPY OF ARTICLE 3 OF JULY 31, 1943, AGREEMENT WITH CHILE

3. The Government of the United States agrees that for a period of 2 years following the termination of the present war, as proclaimed by the President of the United States, the Republic of Chile, or if designated by the Republic of Chile, the Compania Sud Americana de Vapores shall be given the privilege, to the extent permitted by the laws of the United States, of acquiring, at its own expense, in the United States vessels of an aggregate gross tonnage equal to the aggregate gross tonnage of the Copiapo, Aconcagua, and Imperial, and of such class as may be

acquired in the United States by any other Government or steamship line. The Government of the United States may accord this privilege by authorizing any or all of the following: (a) Contracts with a shipyard or shipyards in the United States for the con-struction of vessels; (b) purchase in the United States of privately owned vessels; or (c) purchase in the United States of vessels owned by the United States. Nothing in this article shall be construed as a commitment by the Government of the United States to give financial assistance in connection with such acquisition.

# EXTRACT FROM DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1301

2. Shipping Division: The Shipping Division shall have responsibility for the formulation and coordination of policy and action of the Department of State in matters concerning international shipping (except those functions relating to shipping space requirements and allocations vested in the War-Supply and Resources Division, Office of Wartime Economic Affairs). This includes such activities as:

(a) Analysis and study of all international aspects of shipping and, in cooperation with other economic and geographic divisions, formulation of policy concerning the economic, commercial, and political aspects of

international shipping.

(b) Observation and review of developments in the maritime services and laws of other countries, in order to identify and advise on their implications to the foreign policy of the United States.

(c) Analysis and recommendation with regard to foreign policy aspects of subsidies and other governmental assistance to shipping and with regard to discriminatory laws or practices against American shipping.

(d) Development and recommendation on foreign policy aspects involved in relationships between private and governmental shipping, with particular reference to problems of the transitional period of adjust-ment from war to post-war conditions.

(e) In cooperation with the geographic and other interested offices of the Department, conduct of negotiations between foreign governments and the Maritime Commission and War Shipping Administration with regard to disposal of tonnage, transfer of nationality, redistributions of ships to essential trade routes, and other shipping matters.

(f) Formulation and carrying through of policy recommendations on matters that involve the effect of ocean freight rates, marine insurance rates, and war-risk insurance rates

on foreign trade.

(g) Analysis of and recommendations regarding legislation and Executive orders affecting international shipping, and international conventions, treaties, and agreements governing shipping and shipbuilding indus-

(h) Analysis of and recommendations on policy of the Department regarding revision of navigation laws and their adjustment to current seagoing conditions.

(i) Interpretation of and liaison in all

matters within the responsibility of the Division relative to international conventions concerning seamen.

(j) In cooperation with the Office of the Foreign Service and other interested divisions, and in collaboration with the Maritime Commission and other agencies, the drafting of instructions to Foreign Service establishments regarding reports on matters of economic and political significance in the maritime services and shipbuilding industries of other countries.

(k) Analysis of reports from the field for developments that are significant from a policy viewpoint, and furnishing of pertinent information to offices of the Department or other Government agencies on international

shipping matters.

(1) Analysis of regulatory measures and standards that affect shipping and trade in

order to determine their relationship to foreign policy.

Attention is called particularly to the following paragraph in Assistant Secretary Grew's letter of March 3, 1945:

No arrangements or agreements committing the United States to post-war disposition of vessels to foreign governments or foreign individuals have been made by this Government or by its authorized representatives. However, agreements have been made with Norway, Brazil, and Chile which provide in general terms for aid in replacement or rehabilitation. The Department of State takes the position that these agreements should be honored in their spirit and that the absence of similar arrangements with our other allies who have likewise lost tonnage in the common war effort should not preclude reasonable consideration of their merchantmarine problems.

Assistant Secretary Grew described (a) our agreement with Norway as an assurance of the willingness of this Government to assist in the rehabilitation of Norway's merchant fleet: (b) our agreement of September 30, 1942, with Brazil as an agreement of replacement, and our later agreement of April 12, 1944, as an agreement on the part of Brazil to maintain certain vessels in service between the United States and Brazil and to assume responsibility for the carriage of a minimum quantity of cargo in that trade, certain features of the replacement article of the previous agreement being retained; and (c) an agreement with Chile upon the occasion of the sale of three Chilean motor vessels to this Government and the chartering of substitute freighter tonnage to Chile, with an article in the agreement for the acquiring at its own expense in the United States of an aggregate gross tonnage equal to the three motor ships acquired, but with no commitment of the United States to give financial assistance in connection with such acquisition.

As to Great Britain, Acting Secretary Grew said:

Although a considerable number of ships have been turned over to Great Britain during the course of the war, the arrangements under which these vessels were chartered contain no commitments with reference to postwar disposition of the vessels concerned. In this connection it is pertinent to call to your attention the following statement made in the eleventh report to Congress on lendlease operations, for the period ended July

31, 1943:
"While our merchant fleet has been growing, that of Britain has been dwindling due to sinkings and to the fact that she has not built many replacements but has instead relied on us for production of merchant ships. The British, therefore, have a reserve of experienced seamen. To utilize the services of these men, we will charter to the United Kingdom about 15 new ships a month for the next 10 months. These ships are being chartered only for the duration of the war: title will remain with the United States Government, and the uses to which they may be put will be determined by the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board.

(Mr. BLAND asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I am not at all certain I can add anything to the discussion but perhaps I am justified in giving you my impression of the attitude of the representatives of the executive branch of the Government as they appeared time after time before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. If you do not mind my saying so, I have sat on a great many committees of Congress at one time or another and have taken part in a great many hearings, and I can say in all frankness that never in my experience have I seen witnesses from the executive branch of the Government more candid, more cooperative, than I have in connection with these hearings.

We started in really to learn about the lend-lease program and its operation from Mr. Stettinius, of whom it may be said that he was the first man who built the organization. He may not have been the first Administrator but he was the Administrator at the time when it was put actively to work after we had become

participants in this war.

Mr. Stettinius is a man of broad experience, and he impressed every member of our committee with the idea that he knew what he was doing in the handling of these goods and funds. He was succeeded by Mr. Crowley, whose acquaintance I had not had the pleasure of making before he came before the I think every member of committee. the committee will join with me in the assertion that Mr. Crowley has responded to every single inquiry we have made of him, and we have made hundreds of them. He has stated over and over again his profound conviction that lend-lease is a war measure, and nothing but a war measure; that it never was contemplated as a post-war reconstruction or rehabilitation measure.

The same estimate, I think, can be made of Mr. Cox, attorney for the F. E. A., and for Mr. Acheson, of the State Department, who time and again have come before our committee and answered every conceivable question. They have traced rumors and stories down around the earth to find out the truth of various suggestions or criticisms in Congress, and in some instances they have corrected evils and done it promptly. In other words, whether we agree with the policy of lend-lease-and I do, and have from the very beginning, and make no concealment of the fact—I do not think we are justified in distrusting these men. I say that advisedly. They have given us their word in open session. Their words were taken down by the committee reporters that such and such is their conception of their duties, and they have been supported in those assertions by the Secretary of War, by the Secretary of the Navy, and by Admiral Land, of the Maritime Commission. I indulge in this observation because I think it is due to these men to be given some credit, indeed, full credit, for the strenuous efforts they are making for our country. never asked them what party they belonged to, and I never will.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield? Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the

gentleman from South Dakota. Mr. MUNDT. I think it should be made clear that the motivating purpose of the amendment supported by the minority was not an indictment or an expression of suspicion against any men or group of men. It was based on the well-recognized theory of government that men come and go, but that is a government of law and not a government

Mr. WADSWORTH. The gentleman is correct. I supported this amendment in committee. I believe it is a clarifying amendment. I believe it will do much toward doing away with misunderstanding and misconception of what lend-lease is about. I am glad to see it inserted in the basic act. I think it is effective to accomplish the purposes which our committee unanimously want accomplished, and which I am sure the Congress and the people of the United States want accomplished; in other words, the confining of lend-lease active operations to that of a war agency and keeping it out of the field of reconstruction and rehabilitation in Europe or China or any other spot on

the face of the globe.
Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the

gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KŅUTSON. The gentleman is making a very fine statement and is a valuable member of the committee. Under the bill as reported out by the majority lend-lease would be extended to

June 30, 1949. Mr. WADSWORTH. Lend-lease will not be extended until June 30, 1949. The clean-up period in which we salvage what we can, in which we reach final agreements as to what the material is worth, and can we get any money for it or what we will do with it, is extended 1 year from 1948 to 1949, making a 3-year period to accomplish a mighty difficult job which will have to be pursued all over the face of the earth.

Mr. KNUTSON. When does this bill

expire as it is worded now?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The active operation of lend-lease will expire on June 30, 1946.

Mr. KNUTSON. Assuming this bill is enacted, would it be possible for the administration to enter into commitments between now and 1946 that would perhaps not be put into effect for 10 or 15 years?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; it would not. Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman] said it would.

and he is a very able lawyer.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The law specifically provides that commitments made under lend-lease shall be for the purpose of securing the defense of the United States in this war and nothing else.

Mr. KNUTSON. But the gentleman from Michigan said that it would.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am sorry to disagree with him if he did. I did not hear his remarks.

Perhaps we can visualize men being utterly faithless to their oath of office, utterly faithless to an act of Congress, and just deliberately, like pirates, going out and doing things that they are not authorized to do by law, but I do not think the people who are running this thing are that kind of people. That may be an unconventional thing for me to say, but that is my belief.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. Does not the gentleman also feel, just as he feels that the people who are running this thing are not that kind of people, that no men placed in those positions in our Government will probably be that kind of people?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am the more reinforced in my opinion of this because the fact is that none of these measures under lend-lease are undertaken without the advice and recommendation of our high military command. Every line of any agreement made in Europe, for example, while this war is going on, is passed upon by General Eisenhower. Our committee learns that Eisenhower has organized on his general staff at his headquarters in Europe a special section composed of officers whose sole duty is to examine into the military advantages, the military values of the things which are proposed to be done. His recommendations and those of MacArthur and of Admiral Nimitz are all taken, and they are brought back to the Joint Chiefs of Staff here in Washington for them finally to determine what will be to the greatest military advantage.

This thing is a military undertaking, not civilian. The Lend-Lease Administrator does not decide whether or not Australia shall contribute 90 percent of the food consumed by MacArthur's troops, which happens to be the fact. MacArthur, in cooperation with the Australian military command and the Government of Australia, recommends that that be done, it being within the power of the Australian people and their economy to produce that food. Of course, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I have no doubt, say "Good work; that is a military weapon, that food."

Lend-lease, with the help of W. F. A. and the Treasury Procurement, procures the goods and keeps track of it all, and sees that it is distributed where the military people want it distributed.

We went through the whole thing in north Africa. There was a lot of talk about our operations in north Africa. Looking back on them now, I do not believe a single Member of Congress would say that they were not extraordinarily successful. Lend-lease contributions were a very important part of it. Eisenhower commanded that expedition. He commanded not only all of the American elements in it but all the British, British land, British Navy, British air, and American land, American Navy, and American air. It was he primarily who first recommended what lend-lease would be necessary and useful in the military sense in north Africa. It was done.

The war has moved away from north Africa, almost 2 years ago. Lend-lease is now leaving north Africa. It is no longer a military necessity there. Lend-lease is now moving into France. Through one of our allies it is moving into Belgium. Great Britain is to rearm and reequip the Belgian Army. tackle the French Army and the British tackle the Belgian Army. It is a partner-

ship, but its objective collectively is military.

I have confidence in Eisenhower; I have confidence in Marshall; I have confidence in King and Nimitz and Mac-Arthur and all the others in high command. I know that before any of these things of any importance whatsoever is embarked upon the military opinion stands No. 1.

I cannot conceive of this amendment or any other provision of this law being so interpreted by any administrator as to permit even by indirect methods lendlease to be used for nonmilitary purposes in connection with post-war rehabilitation or reconstruction. It simply is not in the statute.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. May I furnish the gentleman a copy of the committee print of this bill and ask him to interpret or explain the exception beginning on line 13 of the committee amendment in the committee print? I do not understand that exception.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The exception was put in by the unanimous vote of our committee so that the prohibitory language of the first half of the section should be deemed to interfere with and make illegal an agreement such as the French agreement recently entered into.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Would not that permit them to carry on even after

the 3-year limit?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not in the furnishing of any goods, but only in the collecting of money.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. O'HARA. The gentleman and I would not disagree upon the furnishing of supplies of a military nature. But the gentleman knows, does he not, that they have been furnishing under the guise of lend-lease a great many things which we are badly in need of, such as farm machinery, in this country? There is a grave question as to whether that is an aid to our military forces; is that not true?

WADSWORTH. The military thought it was a very wise thing for us to do. As to farm machinery, I am interested in that as much as anybody because I am in the farming business. farm machinery that we have supplied under lend-lease has gone largely to Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. It totals approximately 3 percent of our annual production in the United States.

Mr. O'HARA. Of course, 3 percent of that production at a time when it is very difficult for our own people to get machinery, is quite a serious percentage.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Of course, we are having difficulties. But when we sent those cream separators to Australia to enable them to increase their production of dairy products, we enabled the Australians to give us a lot more food for nothing. Had we not sent them any machinery and had we not helped them to increase their production and had we shipped the food that General MacAr-

thur's men required from the United States in our own ships, the cost would have been 16 times as great.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, in the very title of this bill, which has been overlooked in the debate so far, can be found the most eloquent argument for its continuance as reported to the Committee of the Whole by the unanimous action of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That title reads "A bill to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States." This is a war measure. It is before the House on that basis. It must be so considered and on that basis alone. On this point the committee was-in agreement. Lendlease is to be considered solely as a weapon of war-lend-lease is a weapon of victory. It is the considered judgment of us all that articles and services are and may only be provided under the Lend-Lease Act when to do so is in the interest of our national defense.

That supreme interest at this moment is to win the war. At this moment, with the help of Almighty God, the military situation appears to be favorable to our cause in nearly all areas of the world, and yet we must avoid wishful thinking and rosy predictions as to the course of military events. We must continue to plan for war. There must be no slackening of our war effort in any quarter until all our enemies have been defeated utterly everywhere.

On February 8, before the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Honorable Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, concluded a statement with these words, which impressed me deeply. I quote:

As we look about us at the progress of the war in Europe and in the Far East we have every reason to feel pride in our allies and gratitude for their enormously effective part in winning the war. We have all shared our problems, our hopes, our substance, and the burden of the battle. We must continue to do so; and we must continue to maintain faith and confidence in nations of good will both to defeat our enemies and to secure a

When the war has been won-and I say this now as a Democratic member of the committee, to show how in complete agreement both sides of the aisle are on this point—all witnesses who appeared before the committee without exception, the President, Mr. Crowley, Mr. Stettinius and everyone else-when the war has been won lend-lease should end and be liquidated as promptly and efficiently as possible, in accordance with the intention of Congress and the provisions of the lend-lease act, and as emphasized by the definitive and clarifying amendment submitted as the result of the unanimous action of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I was very glad to hear the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], the former Senator from New York, and in my opinion, one of the best brains and one of the most distinguished statesmen of the entire Congress, refer to this matter, that whatever a person may think of the lend-lease program, or for that matter, any other phase of Government activity, he has one obligation which should be fulfilled before he engages in criticism. There are objective criticisms but there are obligations before it should be engaged in. He should assure himself of the correctness of the information on which he is basing his judgment.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield. Mr. JONKMAN. I think it is true that under lend-lease and the standard master agreement, there is only one objective and that is to win the war. When that has been done everything else is dropped, is that not true?

Mr. FLOOD. I think we are all in agreement on that.

Mr. JONKMAN. Is it not also true that the French agreement goes beyond that?

Mr. FLOOD. That is true, but may I explain it by saying this, it goes beyond but in this way: The French agreement by its extension over a period of years, has to do solely and entirely with payment by the French, if and when we say they are to pay certain things and as the agreement provides.

Mr. JONKMAN. In the 3 (c) agreement is there any limitation on that

Mr. FLOOD. There is no limitation on the time within the 3-year clean-up period, but under the French agreement, when they talk about periods of 20 years or 27 years, that has nothing to do with the supplying by the United States of America of any article, but only with payment.

Mr. JONKMAN. One further question. If the articles provided for in the French agreement are not delivered at the time, 3 years after cessation of the war, is there anything to prevent further delivery?

Mr. FLOOD. Certainly. First there is the act itself.

Secondly, there is this amendment to which the committee agreed entirely, that the act itself expires in 1 year. At the end of 3 years the clean-up period expires, and under any agreement made now or before the extension date in June 1946 anything that has to do beyond the 3-year period is for the best interest of the United States only and nobody else and is concerned only with payments to the United States and has nothing to do with deliveries.

Mr. JONKMAN. But, is it not true that in that extension we have waived the principal consideration in lend-lease, that is the winning of the war, and gone beyond it?

Mr. FLOOD. No; and may I interject this, I am very glad the gentleman raised this issue: At any time during the life of any of these agreements-and even now may I say since this French agreement was written it has already been revised, been rewritten-on February 26. I believe the agreement was made, yet, even since February 26 we have reconsidered and revised and restricted certain provisions. At any time during the life of any one of these agreements under the master agreement we can revise and reconsider any phase of it. Mr. JONKMAN. That is true; but is it a desirable thing to do, gentlemen, to go back on our contract?

Mr. FLOOD. Oh, now, Mr. Chairman, if one has in mind the meeting of minds that is necessary when any contract or agreement is entered into it cannot be construed in that way. Certainly it is presumed that we take this upon some expression of faith. There is more than the appearance of a contract; there must be a meeting of the minds on this kind of agreement. Certainly any revision will not be made arbitrarily by this Nation, I am sure, or by any administrator of this lend-lease agreement, or by the administration itself.

Mr. JONKMAN. Then, if in the normal course of events the gentleman assumes the contract will be carried out, is not he doing the very thing that violates the terms of the agreement?

Mr. FLOOD. I think the gentleman is begging his own question. thing the act does do is to prevent quibbling and quarreling among allies about items which in the over-all picture serve the purpose for which this Congress created the law itself. That, I believe, with all due deference to the gentleman from Michigan who was a tower of strength in the committee, with all due deference to the gentleman I think certainly he is not speaking against the spirit of the act; I think that is a matter of detail in carrying out the contract, it has no legal weight and does not violate the terms of the agreement—the agreement calls for such action.

May I say this: After the cessation of hostilities, especially in the European theater, much more important than the question the gentleman raises are the payments, under the agreement, the question raised by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]—the very payments themselves are consideration of the fact much more importantly-and I believe the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson] had that in mind a moment ago-that is much more important than deciding whether or not we will continue to give them an engine or a crane; and I think payments of these moneys, the return of the gold for our contribution, must await the final determination of hostilities, then we will sit down and work out an itemized basis which I agree has not been as full as it should be but which must await the end of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. JONKMAN. I was just going to say that the gentleman understands, of course, I was talking about if the spirit as well as the letter of this agreement is carried out then we have protection.

Mr. FLOOD. My only reply to the gentleman is this: That when Mr. Justice Holmes was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Massachusetts, his favorite reply to the question what he would do under certain circumstances was, "When the situation arises I shall endeavor to deal with it."

True in any time, and on any subject, this is more than ever an obligation in wartime and on the subject of lend-lease. For anyone who, even unintentionally, misrepresents the work of this great war agency is doing a serious disservice, not only to his country, but to the whole Allied cause.

The United States has supplied its allies with goods and services amounting to \$35,382,000,000. Munitions, including planes, tanks, motor vehicles, and guns accounted for the greatest part of lend-lease transfers, 58 percent; industrial raw materials for 21 percent; foodstuffs and agricultural products, 16 percent; petroleum products, 5 percent. Ninety-eight percent of all lend-lease has flowed to the four major allies—Britain, Russia, China, and France. In reverse, they have supplied us with \$4,000,000,000 worth of goods and services.

Yet despite all these concrete benefits of lend-lease, Secretary of War Stimson sees in it something of still greater significance. He told the Foreign Affairs Committee:

I think that the most important contribution which has been made by lend-lease to the prosecution of this war has been the effect which it has had in knitting into one compact body with ourselves the power of the several nations which have become our allies.

It is, indeed, the indispensable, unifying force which has made our coalition effective. There could be no greater folly than the setting aside of a weapon which has served us so well.

If I may be permitted to mix a metaphor, as the great State of Pennsylvania is known as the keystone of the Union of States, so lend-lease is the foundation stone of the new union of nations.

In reply and answer to the questions and remarks of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson] on the use of farm machinery in lend-lease, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include therein statements from the Foreign Economic Administration entitled "Fiction and Fact," and a letter from Leo T. Crowley, Administrator, to the gentleman from New York, Hon. Sol Bloom, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION.

Office of the Administrator,
Washington, D. C., December 30, 1944.
Hon. Sol Bloom,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BLOOM: Speaking on the floor of the House on Friday, December 1, Representative A. L. MILLER submitted a report on his trip to England, in the course of which he discussed phases of lend-lease operations. Several statements which were made should, I believe, be replied to, in order to keep the lend-lease record clear.

For example, Mr. Miller said that he had visited a place about 60 miles north of London, where there were "at least a square mile of American-made farm machinery—new tractors, plows, harrows, and disks packed close together." This material, he indicated, had been sent from the United States under lend-lease, and he quoted a colonel who accompanied him as saying that "this type of lend-lease should have stopped long ago." He added that he presumed that equipment "was on order and someone felt it necessary to complete the order."

Actually, the place visited by Mr. MILLER was a depot where a type of American tractor with ancillary equipment was stored preparatory to shipment to France to build military roads or assignment on war projects in England such as the clearance of ground for air bases. Normally there are about 200 crawlers at this depot awaiting shipment, and at ccrtain times before and after the invasion of France there had been as many as 500 or 600. They are continually moving either to the battle lines or to war tasks behind the lines, assigned them by the Combined Munitions Assignment Board acting for the Combined Chiefs of Staff. There may possibly be a dozen pieces of agricultural equipment among these, but the overwheming bulk of the equipment which Mr. MILLER saw and which can so readily be mistaken as machinery for agricultural use was equipment required for military operations.

I would like to emphasize that shipment of equipment to England as lend-lease is recommended by the accredited representatives of the United States Government, including some of the highest-ranking American officers, stationed in England who are constantly in touch with the war situation and who recommend only when they are convinced this equipment will serve best in the winning of the war. The lend-lease equipment present at the depot at the time of Mr. MILLER's visit had been sent there pursuant to such recommendations.

Mr. Miller, following his discussion of this equipment, which he mistakenly believed to be agricultural machinery, says that England has increased her domestic production of food from 35 to 75 percent of her need. He adds that this has been accomplished through lend-lease of farm machinery and that "it is very evident now, however, that this type of lend-lease should be stopped."

England produced about 40 percent of her domestic consumption before the war and now produces about 70 percent. The United States supplies about 10 percent of Britain's food needs, and we have sent her some equip-ment and fertilizer and seed which, of course, have helped make possible the increase in her domestic production. However, we have sent to all of our allies no more than 3 percent of the total farm machinery manufactured in the United States. Certainly, the crisis in food in England has not passed. The British are still living on an extremely strict diet. Of the total of lend-lease exports to the United Kingdom from the inception of the lendlease program in March 1941 through October 1944, 26.8 percent consisted of foodstuffs and agricultural products. In the first year of lend-lease, food was the largest single item of lend-lease aid sent by this country to the United Kingdom. At one time the had been reduced to a 7-day supply of food. That the situation remains critical, however, is indicated by the fact that in the first 10 months of the current year, 1944, 18.4 percent of our lend-lease exports to the United Kingdom was still foodstuffs and other agricultural products.

It would seem obvious, therefore, in view of the fact that our lend-lease exports to Britain are determined after the closest possible study of conditions within that country by our representatives on the scene, and after conference with Government agencies in this country, such as the War Production Board, which are responsible for the maintenance of our domestic economy, that lend-lease supplies are sent abroad to our allies in accordance with the intent of the Lend-Lease Act to strengthen the defense of the United States by strengthening the defense of our allies without crippling our domestic economy.

Discussing the recent report of the President to the Congress on the operation or reverse lend-lease, Mr. Miller, after citing that phase of the report dealing with transportation of American troops to England in British ships, said that the President "did

not state how much money the War Department or some agency was paying in addition for the transportation of these troops." He indicated a desire to ask someone representing the administration the following question: "What, if anything, is it costing this country when troops are transported to England on English ships? Is this a part of lend-lease: if not, why not?"

In the seventeenth report to Congress on lend-lease operations it is pointed out that approximately one-third of all the supplies and equipment currently required by our armed forces in the European theater of operations between June 1, 1942, and June 30, 1944, was supplied by the British as reverse lend-lease aid, without payment by us. The British supplied us with everything we needed that they were able to produce in sufficient quantities. This includes transportation on British ships, for which the United States does not pay anything. Our men have been and are being carried in British ships as a phase of reverse lend-lease.

In his remarks Mr. Miller used a quotation which he attributed to a statement issued by Secretary of State Stettinius, Secretary Morgenthau, and myself, as a special committee of the Government on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease discussions with the British. The quotation was as follows:

"Lend-lease aid to the United Kingdom will be liberalized following the defeat of Germany to include materials for improving British living conditions."

This sentence did not appear in our statement, as an examination of a copy of the statement, which I am enclosing, and which was issued to the press on November 30, 1944, will diclose. In the statement we reaffirm the frequently repeated statement of lend-lease policy to the effect that—

"From the beginning of the lend-lease program in March 1941 lend-lease aid has been extended for one purpose, and for one purpose only, the defense of the United States and to enable our allies to bring the full weight of their men and resources to bear against our common enemies."

We add—

"That policy will be continued without change."

The only paragraphs in our statement which would seem to have any kinship with that of Mr. Miller were the following:

"After the defeat of Germany the United Kingdom and the United States will both use all the fighting power that is required for the earliest possible defeat of Japan. It is likely, however, that both the United Kingdom and the United States will be able to reconvert part of their resources on an equitable basis to meet essential civilian needs in the period between the defeat of Germany and the defeat of Japan. As a result of such a partial and equitable reconversion there will be some improvement in the conditions of life of the British people. For 6 years, first standing alone against the enemy and later fighting alongside our own forces on battlefields, on seas, and in the sky all over the world, they have endured privation in diet, had their houses destroyed about them, and have been sent to distant parts of the country to work wherever the needs of war called them. After the defeat of Germany, it is necessary that their inadequate diet be improved, temporary emergency housing be provided, and such other measures adopted as may relieve in some degree their present extremely difficult circumstances.

"This committee believes that a program which will help in achieving this objective is a matter of necessity for the most effective prosecution of the war against Japan and that it expresses in some measure the common bond which has carried our countries through the hard days of the war to approaching victory."

However, these paragraphs only state once more that we intend to maintain lend-lease in its traditional role, as an arm of our allies

and our own defense in the fighting of this

I have gone to some length in setting the record straight on the lend-lease picture because I am anxious that we shall not appear to be breaking faith with the men who are giving more than material to this struggle. I believe in justice to them, and to their parents and friends, also, that we should not permit mistaken impressions which would indicate that we on the home front are not doing everything possible to protect their interests to be freely circulated.

Sincerely yours, LEO T. CROWLEY, Administrator.

## 13. FICTION

A Congressman who recently returned from a trip to England stated that he had seen least a square mile of American-made farm machinery, new tractors, plows, harrows, and disks, packed close together," which he understood had been sent from the United States under lend-lease.

### FACT

Actually what was seen in England was a depot where American tractors with auxiliary equipment were stored preparatory to shipment to France to build military roads or assignments on war projects in England such as the clearance of ground for air bases. At certain times before and after the invasion of France there were as many as 500 to 600 tractors, with necessary equipment, at this depot awaiting shipment. They are continually moving either to the battle lines or to war tasks behind the lines. All equipment such as this which has been shipped to England has been recommended by representatives of the United States Government, including high-ranking military officers, who are constantly in touch with the situation in England and only recommend equipment which in their opinion will serve best in the winning of the war.

# 19. FICTION

A rumor which has been particularly irritating to the farmers of this country, who been unable to get the farm machinery which they need, concerns the alleged storage in Algiers of a large number of combines which have been sent there under lend-lease.

# FACTS

In the last 2 years approximately 230 combines were shipped to French North Africa. These represent but a fraction of 1 percent of our total production. We are being paid for all combines delivered in north Africa. An investigation carried on in Algiers last July disclosed that agricultural machinery shipped there was on its way to producing areas within 10 to 12 days after arrival at port. There is a strict rationing system in effect which insures that machines go where they are most needed. The combines which we have shipped have served as replacements for equipment which has worn out or which was destroyed as a result of the war. They have aided north Africa to maintain production of food, large quantities of which have been furnished to United States forces in the Mediterranean as reverse lend-lease, and since D-day to metropolitan France.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, H. R. 2013, known as the lend-lease bill, was reported out by the committee just a few days ago. It was not a unanimous report at that time, however there was a feeling on the part of a few of us who filed minority views that an effort should be made to reconcile the differences that existed. The distin-

guished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorysl was given the responsibility of attempting to work out a satisfactory amendment with Mr. Crowley and his able counsel. An amendment was worked out over the week-end and yesterday it was approved by the whole committee and it will be offered at the proper time. Credit, if any, must go chiefly to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys | for his successful efforts to reconcile committee differences so there could be unanimity of action on the part of the committee today.

The bill comes to us again as a war measure; it is "to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the de-fense of the United States." Yet reports were current that the program was going far afield and was about to become a vehicle for post-war relief and rehabilitation. I am sure that many Members of the House have read newspaper and magazine accounts of alleged abuses of the program, which, of course, are denied by lend-lease authorities. In that connection, however, James M. Landis, former minister to the Middle East, and certainly pro-New Deal, made some pertinent comments with reference to the lend-lease program in the Middle East. In an interview by Louis M. Lyons, in the Boston Sunday Globe of February 4, 1945, he said:

Of all the things that engendered the anti-British feeling in the Near East, the sorest when I got there was their handling of lend-lease. The area was full of rumor, some of it true. It was the first thing I went after, to correct it, not only for itself but to make a sound basis for Anglo-American unity. I think there is nothing wrong now. The British distributed lend-lease materials out there to meet civilian needs without reference to us. But that was our own fault. Our arrangements were so loose that they were violating no law in selling goods that we had consigned to their military. If you give a man free rein and he feels entitled to use it for purposes of his own that he can always relate somehow to the war.

# And continuing, Mr. Landis said:

I had to be very outspoken with the British at first. I said they must pay us for the lend-lease materials they had sold to the native population and governments for political or any other reasons. They wondered about me for a few minutes but then discovered that I was working in the interest of true American accord. I said the proceeds belonged to us. They saw the point so they They coughed up millions of dollars of the proceeds of sales of our lend-lease out

# Continuing, he said:

Not a single item of lend-lease today is transferred out of the hands of the British military without our consent. That's im-

# And further said he:

I found we were pretending to operate an Anglo-American agency out there but we were really underwriting British policy. I felt we should have our own policy and play our own part.

It is obvious, Mr. Chairman, that the lend-lease program is so vast in scope that abuses are bound to arise unless there is vigorous attention to the details of the program. It seems quite certain that we shall never know just what has happened with this entire program until

the war is over and Congress can begin a detailed study of all that has transpired. A short time ago, another sour note with reference to the program was expressed by one Samuel D. Marble, writing in the Christian Century for February 21, 1945, in an article dealing with U. N. R. R. A. He had this to say about lend-lease:

In this case, however, our affection for U. N. R. A. does not prevent us from having other enthusiasms and our divided loyalty goes far to explain the muddled state of affairs. Perhaps the decisive reason why the international relief machinery has produced so little is that it cannot meet the compensation we have chosen to give it in the form of the American lend-lease organizations. This agency is also in the business of giving away supplies which are increasingly for civilian consumption. Probably the United Nations relief administration will never in its lifetime distribute as much material as the Lend-Lease office has shipped away in 1 year. The reason why needy nations prefer to do business with Lend-Lease is that this agency is able to give supplies on a protocol basis. It does not ask for an accounting nor pry into their use after they are delivered. Since the principal source of all these commodities is the United States there is no reason why Russia for example should stand in line to tap her rations through the U. N. R. R. A. bunghole so long as the barrel is open at the top. There is no reason why she should prepare a detailed justification for her requests when she can have what she wants without going to all the trouble. The relief administration on the other hand is bound by a variety of regulations and conventions. There is one rule for U. N. R. R. A. and another for Lend-Lease. If in the use of international conduct it is possible to think of such a thing as a double standard, then U. N. R. R. A. must be feminine, for in her case the expectations are far more exacting.

The Office of Foreign Economic Administration, of which Lend-Lease is a part, is at present transporting supplies to all the Allied Nations and to Italy as well. Because the detailed operations of this Office are highly secret, it is impossible to say what portion of the materials presently being shipped abroad is for civilian use. However, enough is known to make it clear that the United States, with a virtual monopoly of exportable surplus and means of transportation is in a position to render the relief agency virtually functionless by diverting supplies through other channels.

Mr. Chairman, if I sense the attitude of my constituents correctly, they, too, are asking pertinent questions regarding lend-lease operations. If any criticism is to be directed toward the program at all, it would seem to me to be that heretofore the entire lend-lease program has been surrounded with an air of secrecy. The time has now come, it seems to me, for a frank statement of this whole program, and although we are now entering into another phase of it from this point on, we must deal frankly and honestly with the people of this country.

It was my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to offer a simple resolution confining the program for the balance of the war to military lend-lease only. The resolution I propose would have been something like this:

Provided, however, That henceforth all aid provided for herein shall be limited to the weapons of war, all having a military-end I would have contended that lend-lease, being originally designed as part of our program for national defense that it should not now be used as a vehicle for a post-war relief or rehabilitation agency. I am now of the opinion that the committee amendment accomplishes the same objective I had in mind, namely, that it is a prohibition designed to prevent the President from using the program for post-war purposes. Yet it will provide weapons of war for our allies until the end of the war.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to

the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman will recall that when the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MILLER] returned from Europe a short time ago he reported to us that he had seen a square mile of American-made farm machinery that was packed in just as tight as they could possibly get them at a point about 60 miles north of London: that Britain had sold a thousand units of this farm machinery, consisting of tractors, plows, disks, and so forth, to the Egyptians, and it is the further information we get that Britain is acting as a sort of wholesaler of American-made farm machinery to all parts of the world. This is being done, I am told, under lend-lease. Is there any Member on the floor of the House who can justify transactions of that kind, more especially at this time when there is such a crying need for labor-saving machinery on our farms to take the place of boys who have been drafted into the military service?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I can only say to the gentleman, in answer to his question, that the authorities deny that such a situation exists. As a matter of fact, it was inquired into and the authorities tell us that the situation does

Mr. KNUTSON. Why, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Miller] was taken up to this place by an American Army colonel who protested the manner in which we were being hornswoggled.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to

the gentleman from Ohio.

not exist.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Is it not true that the entire Near East and middle eastern program of lend-lease is shortly to be terminated, and as far as Africa is concerned it is to be terminated on July 1, 1945, which will mean that there will not be any more abuses in that territory?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is right. Of course, that applies to the Middle East. The gentleman was talking about a situation that existed in England.

Mr. KNUTSON. What assurance have we that these abuses and misuses will not be continued in Europe?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. All we have to rely on, it seems to me, is the integrity of these people who are administering the program.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. In answer to the gentleman regarding the assurances, I do not believe that the House could get any better assurance than that given by the officers administering lend-lease that such a condition does not exist. The record contains many statements by Administrator Crowley and other people that such a condition does not exist.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, all we have had within the last 12 years is assurance, assurance; spending, spending; taxing,

taxing; electing, electing.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, may I just point out that Mr. Landis in his statement has now assured us, and so testified, that that entire situation in the Middle East has been corrected. It is obvious, Mr. Chairman, that the lend-lease program is so vast in scope that abuses are bound to arise. It seems quite certain that we shall never know just what has happened with the entire program until the war is over.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LUTHER A JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. Douglas].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, early in 1941 an historic debate took place over an original and daring plan called lend-lease. National organizations took their stand for and against this measure. Because I was active in Illinois in one of those groups which from the start supported the new policy, I am glad to make my first statement in the House on this subject.

Perhaps because of my long-term interest in this matter, my mail has been heavy since hearings on the extension of lend-lease opened in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Civic leaders and dozens of citizens have been reminding me that lend-lease was created a weapon for victory 4 years ago. The war has now reached its crisis. The tempo is augmenting and we must use every ounce of our strength to finish the job. We dare not set aside our chosen weapon or fumble with it at this time.

In 1941 may distinguished national organizations endorsed lend-lease and ever since have assumed its continuance without hampering amendments throughout the war. Among the women's organizations solidly supporting extension are:

American Association of University Women.

American Federation of Teachers.
Association for Nursery Education.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Girls Friendly Society of the U. S. A.
National board, Y. W. C. A.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National League of Women Voters.
National Service Star Legion.
National Women's Trade Union

National Women's Trade Union League.

Those of us who supported lend-lease in 1941 did so because we believed that the surest way to keep war away from America was to help those nations which were resisting aggression. Already Hitler had conquered most of Europe and Britain stood alone with her best equipment lost at Dunkerque. If Britain went

down and her Navy were taken over by the enemy, as looked all too likely, our own chance was poor to continue the American way of life, an island of freedom in a totalitarian world. At the risk of reprisals from the dictators, we decided therefore to become the arsenal of democracy and to aid those few nations which continued the fight.

In a sense we were purchasing time to prepare ourselves. At this period, however, there were still many who believed that we could do business with Hitler and keep the peace with Hirohito. New light since that time and the disclosure of the plans of the dictators have justified the wisdom of our decision in 1941. The dictators' schedule called for the destruction one by one of its victims. Happily, and with the help of our supplies, other great powers were still fighting the enemy when war came to America.

The policy of immediate credit and rapid transfer of supplies I have called original because it enabled the industrial nations to pool the necessary resources at once in order to bind into a unified strategy the striking power of numerous allies. In dollars we have spent on lendlease only about 16 percent of what we have spent on our total war effort. But that 16 percent has forged the links of the grand alliance which is winning the war in all parts of the world. It has coordinated action. All planning today and for the future is based upon the principle of mutual aid, which this act developed.

The pooling of materials and labor have earned dividends many times on the original investment. Strategic items have uncorked bottlenecks of production. As an example, alloys have been sent to help produce steel in Russia, aluminum to help produce planes, and small amounts of American farm equipment have helped multiply the necessary harvests in Britain.

The all-important fact is that lend-lease is speeding victory. What that means to us is that American lives are being saved, thousands upon thousands of them. This is the supreme fact which concerns us today.

Our factories have been able to turn cut more munitions, more planes and tanks than we could effectively use. Elsewhere there were men eager to fight the common foe but without weapons or money to purchase them. The creative statesmanship behind lend-lease placed those surplus weapons in the hands that needed them. Because of that sharing, our allies were able to use their manpower more fully and to increase the mobility and fire power of their troops. As an example, lend-lease has equipped a French Army of 8 divisions with 300 supporting units and an air force of 1,500 This Army has played an impressive part in the liberation of Europe. In the Mediterranean theater, is another example, our troops forms only about one-fifth of the total number, but British and American lend-lease have jointly equipped Polish, Brazilian, South African, Indian, and French troops which comprise the rest. In those sections where they fight, our men need not fight.

A like story can be told of sea power where American-made ships have been equipped and manned by our allies. Every enemy that our allies put out of comgat means fewer enemies for American boys to face.

Since this is a joint struggle, we cannot put more value on American planes than on the English boys shot down in them. Who can say that the tanks sent to the eastern front were of greater value than the Russian youths who manned them? Our allies have suffered heavier blood losses than we, but in helping them to help themselves, we have reduced the losses for all.

We loaned our neighbor a hose when his house was on fire. It was good for the neighbor but it was not entirely altruism on our part for we hoped that the fire would be put out on his property before it spread to ours. It did finally leap over to one end of our yard and then, of course, we all rolled up our sleeves and our young men grabbed another length of hose and went after the fire in earnest. I do not know what our neighbors would think if we paused now to consider taking back the hose which we had loaned. But I do know that our American fighting men would have cause for fury. Until the fire is stamped out, we must wholeheartedly go on extinguishing it and must not pause to consider at what o'clock we shall drag home the hose.

(Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks in the Record.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Merrow].

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, 4 years ago, on the 11th of March 1941, the original Lend-Lease Act went into effect. During the weeks immediately preceding the adoption of this historic legislation I expressed my wholehearted support of the proposed program in New Hampshire through the press, over the radio, and on the public platform. The people of my State were for this legislation. They have given it their enthusiastic support from its inception. Since becoming a Member of this House in January 1943. I have had the opportunity on two occasions to vote for the extension of lendlease. 'As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the present Congress, I voted to report favorably the bill now under consideration. This resolution will continue lend-lease for another year, to June 30, 1946. I hope the Congress will vote for this extension overwhelmingly. Let us, by passing this bill, with unanimity send an announcement to our already collapsing enemies that we are determined to prosecute the war with ever-increasing determination and vigor until Germany and Japan surrender unconditionally.

When the Lend-Lease Act first became a law this country was not engaged in hostilities but Europe was overrun by the Nazi hordes and the defenders of freedom were hard pressed. The invasion of Russia was to occur in a period of approximately 3 months. Lend-lease gave encouragement to those who were so gal-

lantly resisting Hitlerism. It afforded much needed aid to the countries striving to check Nazi aggression. The Congress realized that the defense of those who were fighting Germany was vital to the interests of the United States of America. The formulation and the adoption of the Lend-Lease Act is evidence of far-sighted American statesmanship, and will remain in our history as an imperishable monument to the Congress that adopted it. Under lendlease we have given invaluable assistance to our allies. The efforts of the United Nations have been unified. It was a most important step in preparing American industry for the great task of producing war materials for this unparalleled conflict.

From the beginning of lend-lease in those dark days of 1941, the United Nations have successfully turned the tide of Hitlerism which so sinisterly threatened freedom. Since 1941 we have come a long way. Victory after victory has been scored. Today our troops stand in triumph on the east bank of the Rhine. The heart of every American is thrilled as the good news continues to pour in from the battle fronts of Europe and the Pacific. It may be only a matter of weeks before we witness the complete and final collapse of Hitler's regime of hate and murder. In all our victories lend-lease has played a most prominent and a most vital part. Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease have been highly effective weapons for the United Nations.

In the fighting of modern war thousands of items are essential. Lend-lease consists of goods transferred, such as munitions, petroleum products, industrial products, agricultural products, and services rendered. The Foreign Economic Administration has listed 10 categories under the types of items lend-lease has made available to our allies. They include ordnance and ammunition, aircraft and parts, tanks, and other motor vehicles and parts, watercraft and parts, machinery, metals, petroleum products, foodstuffs, agricultural products other than foodstuffs, and miscellaneous materials. I have referred to these items since they illustrate the complexity and the magnitude of modern industrial warfare. Practically every substance on earth is a defense item.

Ninety-eight percent of the lend-lease aid has been furnished to our major allies-the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, China, and France. Through December 31, 1944, lend-lease aid totaled \$35,382,646,000. Since that time, according to a letter written by Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, to the President in recognition of the fourth anniversary of lend-lease, the figures for January 1945 are about \$1,175,000,000, bringing the total lendlease aid through January 1945 to over \$36,500,000,000. These figures symbolize the extent of the program. They speak eloquently for the effectiveness of this most telling war weapon.

For several weeks the Foreign Affairs Committee has held extensive hearings on this bill. The review of the lendlease program by the committee has been

extremely searching. We have meticulously scrutinized every phase of this giant undertaking. Not a single witness appeared before the committee in opposition to the extension of lend-lease. Detailed reports were made by all those connected with the carrying out of the program. To date 18 reports have been submitted to Congress on its operation. No act has received a more thorough congressional review. The rumors concerning lend-lease so frequently heard were investigated and found to be without basis. The results of the investigation under the title "Lend-Lease Fact and Fiction" are included in the record of the hearings.

With the adoption of the proposed committee amendment all fear that lend-lease will be employed in the postwar period will be dispelled. The committee amendment will write into the law the position taken by the Foreign Economic Administrator that lendlease is a war measure and should not be used after the war is over. Lendlease and reverse lend-lease in both the European and the Pacific theaters of warfare are devastating weapon's against our enemies. Lend-lease has made possible the pooling of the material resources of the United Nations. It has greatly augmented our cooperative effort. It gave courage to and sustained our allies in the darkest period of this conflict. It was a vital step in preparing this Nation for total war. Lend-lease has, without doubt, been a major factor in shortening this struggle. Thousands of lives have been and will be saved by lend-lease. We are at the dawn of victory. Our efforts must not be slackened. We cannot conceive of discontinuing lend-lease. To do this would be a serious blow to our allies and to our own war effort. We must continue lend-lease until every enemy is completely overcome. After hostilities cease let us hope that the same spirit of cooperation which has characterized our lend-lease activities will permeate the thinking of the statesmen in the post-war period. Such a spirit of cooperation will be most effective in the construction of a decent international society of permanent

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Mansfield].

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I believe it is appropriate at this time, under the discussions having to do with the extension of the Lend-Lease Act, that we say a few words about China and the situation in that country and in that part of the world.

Lend-lease aid to China started in mid-1941. Up to July 1, 1944, the following amounts of supplies had been shipped from the United States for Chinese account: In long tons, 303,262.22; in dollar value, \$371,645,836. Approximately 232,000 of these tons were shipped to India. The balance was shipped to Rangoon or sunk en route.

About half this amount still remains in inventory in India, while the rest has

either been flown into China, issued to Chinese troops in India, or put to use by American or British troops in India.

The greatest single effort to aid China has been applied to building up the Air Transport Command operation which rose from a few tons a month to a total now of approximately 44,000 tons a month. Approximately 210,000 tons of supplies have been flown into Kunming, China, from India between April 1942 and July 1, 1944.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, I hesitate to interrupt my friend, who knows so well his subject and who is speaking about China and the aid this country has given the Chinese people. I do it because he has just mentioned Kunming. Visiting the Capitol this afternoon, greeting our Vice President and Speaker and many Members—and I trust he will shake hands with the gentleman from Montana also—is Dr. S. Y. Chen, a 29-year-old Chinese doctor who gave vital medical care to Capt. Ted Lawson and his four companions when they crashed in China after the 1942 raid on Tokyo, has just arrived in the United Dr. Shen-yen Chen will study surgery for 2 years at American Government expense. This chance to realize an ambition which he has long had is given to him as a gesture of appreciation of his sacrifice and risk in tending the injured American flyers behind the Japanese lines and guiding them to safety in Free China.

Dr. Chen's story is well known to Americans who have read or seen the screen version of Captain Lawson's book, Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo. The young Chinese doctor was working in his father's hospital in an inland city in Japanese-occupied territory when the Tokyo raiders were brought in by their guerilla rescuers. At great personal risk and refusing all compensation, Dr. Chen and his father treated the wounded flyers.

As soon as the men were well enough to move, young Dr. Chen traveled with them on the long journey to Kunming to make sure of their safety. There he parted with the flyers in June 1942. Since that time Dr. Chen has been in the Medical Detachment of the Chinese Air Force in Chungking. The invitation for him to study in America was extended by the Department of State in connection with its program of cultural relations with China.

I feel that when we speak of the Chinese we should give real words of credit not only to that great nation but to those individuals like Dr. Chen, slight of stature but staunch of soul.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I thank the gentleman and wish to say there are millions of other Dr. Chens in China who have rendered great service helping to get flying personnel who have been forced down behind the Japanese lines back to their own headquarters. To Dr. Chen and to his people we owe a great debt for their assistance to us and for their  $7\frac{1}{2}$ -year battle against Japan.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I am

delighted to.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman now addressing us is well qualified to testify with reference to the Chinese people because of the fact that he spent many years of residence in China before this war, and only within recent months made a trip of investigation to China. I am glad to corroborate what was said by the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana.

thank the gentleman.

Lend-lease aid to China started in mid 1941. Up to July 1, 1944, the following amount of supplies had been shipped from the United States for China's account:

Quantity (in long tons)\_\_\_\_\_ 303, 262, 22 Approximate dollar value\_\_\_\_ \$371, 645, 836

Approximately 232,000 tons were shipped to India. The balance was shipped to Rangoon or sunk en route.

About half this amount still remains in inventory in India, while the rest has either been flown into China, issued to Chinese troops in India, or put to use by American or British troops in India.

The greatest single effort to aid China has been applied to building up the Air Transport Command operation which rose from a few tons a month to a total now of approximately 44,000 tons a month. Approximately 210,000 tons of supplies have been flown into Kunming, China, from India between April 1942 and July 1, 1944. More than half of this, however, represents supplies for the Fourteenth Air Force and equipment for Chinese troops used by Stilwell in his attempt to recapture the Burma Road. Only a very small amount of supplies is delivered to the Chinese to do with as they see fit, the largest part of which consists of materials for the Chinese arsenals. Even when the supplies reach Kunming they have 800 or more miles to go to reach fighting fronts and the transportation forward from Kunming to Chungking and every other part of China totaled only approximately 3,000 tons per month in May 1944 and is only about 7,000 tons per month now.

The principal direct assistance supplied by the United States to her Chinese ally is that furnished by the Fourteenth Air Force. Since July 4, 1942, when the Fourteenth Air Force took over from the American volunteer group, it has sunk more than a million tons of Japanese shipping and has provided constant interference with Japanese internal communications in China. The Fourteenth Air Force was the most important factor in delaying for months the late Japanese invasion into Kwangu and Kwangchow and still controls the air over China. Under Gen. Claire Channault it has performed magnificently during the course of this war and its assistance to China has been invaluable. Insofar as the present situation is concerned, there are many pressing problems in China today calling for action both by China and the United States.

Chiang Kai-shek and Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, commander in chief in China, should be given the maximum possible tonnage of supplies flown into China, because they will make them count more than any other operation being conducted on the Asiatic mainland.

The Ledo-Burma Road operation should be realistically appraised. It is obvious that it will take some time to get this road in full operating condition, to get pipe lines operating beside it, and that its total tonnage will be relatively limited, though extremely useful.

The Stilwell program for training Chinese soldiers should continue, but it should be borne in mind that no policy of extreme paternalism by the United States Army will be long tolerated by the rising nationalism of China. The training must be both of officers and men. Except for short periods of time, the leadership in operations must come from the Chinese themselves, tactfully implemented where possible by American advisers

A port on the China coast should be 'opened at the earliest possible date. A realistic program should be developed for utilizing this port when it is opened. Food and cotton cloth in some quantities will be necessary. Finished ordnance and other equipment for Chinese troops should be supplied in this way to the extent that they can be used practically. Principal emphasis should be on supplies to improve China's near extinct internal transportation, such as trucks, watercraft, gasoline, spare parts. Fifteen thousand especially designed trucks are now being built for China pursuant to plans worked out and more will be needed. Large quantities of medical and public-health supplies will be needed

Speaking of internal transportation within China I should like to remark that the least understood fact about aid to China is the difficulty of absorbing the aid within China once the obstacle of the hump is overcome. For instance, in December 1943 it was ascertained that whereas we were at the time flying in about 10,000 tons of cargo a month into Kunming the ground transportation facilities within China did not exceed about 2,500 tons a month out of Kunming. Today a similar serious situation prevails. My latest information is that over-the-hump tonnage is running over 40,000 tons a month, but that ground transport has not yet reached 7,000 tons

I do not know whether, if the Chinese had had their choice, they would have preferred to have the supplies themselves rather than have had General Chennault consume them in the form of aviation gasoline and bombers of the Twentieth Bomber Command use them in B-29 raids over Japan, but whatever the tactical decision might have been, there really was no choice.

However, I do think that any fair appraisal of the situation would conclude that so far as tonnage is concerned, we have put in all the tons across the hump that anybody could ever expect us to do. Indeed, I feel that in attempting the Ledo Road project we tried to put in too much aid to China in one sense of the word. In pinning our faith

on this very difficult military operation and road-building project we failed to evaluate the cost of this project in terms of other things that could have been done. I think there has been enough discussion of this idea above to show you what I am driving at. It is a common saying among people in China that we swapped Myitkyina for southeast China, and certainly there is much to be said for the argument of those who take that view.

The current attacks on lend-lease aid to China are generally based on an analysis of the tonnage actually delivered to the Chinese for their own use. Some people have wished to cross off as aid to China supplies to General Chennault or to the B-29 project. They even wished to put in a separate category supplies which have been given to troops within China—the Yoke force—which have been operating more or less under General Stilwell's, and lately, General Wedemeyer's direction in connection with the Burma campaign. I think that the foundation of this point of view is very debatable. In the broad sense, the real aid to China has and will continue to be the activities of our Pacific Fleet. Once one recognizes the fact that the Burma Road will contribute but will not be the real supply route to China, and probably never could have been, one will then appreciate that in a true military sense it has always been necesary to wait until our fleet could drive through to the sea coast. The immensity of the operations of our fleet, the amounts of money, and the number of lives at stake in trying to liberate China-although we are also trying to beat our enemy Japan—would perhaps beggar the lend-lease to any other nation.

I should like at this time to bring to the attention of the House the fine spirit of cooperation which exists between the F. E. A. in China and the Army in that theater. Furthermore, the cooperation between these two groups and the Chinese Government is on a sound and mutually agreeable basis.

The chief of the China Section of the F. E. A., Mr. Whiting Willauer, and the acting head of the agency in Chungking, Mr. William Stanton, have done a remarkably fine job in trying to attend to the needs of the Army and the Chinese Government. I was informed while visiting the headquarters of the F. E. A. in Chungking that of all the material sent into China, 60 percent goes to the Fourteenth Air Force and the Twentieth Bomber Command with no lend-lease connection whatsoever; 30 percent goes to the Y force, the Z-force, and the S. O. S.; 10 percent goes to lend-lease, is administered by Mr. Stanton, and is described as the C or civilian type of material. Of this 10 percent 70 percent is distributed through F. E. A. and 30 percent through the Army. These figures are for the first 9 months of 1944, and while I cannot say accurately what the situation has been down to date, it is my impression that the figures down to the present time would be just about the same. It is well to note that most of the material being sent into China is not lend-lease at all, but is primarily Army supplies.

It is my hope that lend-lease assistance to China will be stepped up as time goes on so that together America and China will be able to combine their joint efforts in contributing toward the defeat of Japan on an ever-increasing scale. This is necessary and important because for us the long war will be in Asia. It is there that this world-wide struggle will end and because of that we want China to assume her full share of the load in defeating our common enemy.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson].

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, I listened to the remarks of the very charming young Member from Illinois as she recited the virtues of this legislation and all that it has accomplished. However, I notice that the Member from Illinois failed to tell us that this law, which was finally enacted on March 11, 1941, was but one of many of President Roosevelt's devices for keeping the country out of war. Lend-lease has already cost the American taxpayers \$35,000,000,-000 more than the total cost of World War No. 1. Think of it. And as I understand, there is very little bookkeeping in connection with its operation, and that those who sit in high and powerful places have assured our collaborationists, if I may use that word, time and again that they will not be called upon to repay any part thereof. There is no question but that lend-lease has done much good in prosecuting the war but it will not be needed when hostilities cease unless the Congress intends to tax the American people for the post-war cost of rehabilitating of the war-devastated areas.

I freely concede that it has contributed toward the shortening of the war and to putting new heart into allies who were pretty much discouraged when we got into the war, although you would not think so by the way some of them are acting now. But it has done much good. On the other hand, it has also been badly abused.

We recall that when the gentleman from Nebraska, Dr. Miller, returned from England not long ago, he told us of a vast field of power farm machinery in storage in a place about 60 miles north of London, all American made. Britain was acting as a sort of superretail salesman on the lot. Only a few days before Dr. Miller visited this place in company with an American Army colonel who wanted to show Dr. Miller how badly it was being abused, the British Government had sold 10, or was it a thousand units consisting of three pieces, a tractor, plow, and disc, to the Egyptians.

It is my information that farm machinery under lend-lease is going to all parts of the world by way of London, all of which, of course, will redound to the benefit of our allies when the war is over, but I suppose what credit we will get out of it we can put in one

eye.

Then there is the case of the British brigadier who registered at the Waldorf. I am told they took him up to the suite of rooms and, as he looked around in awe and admired the sumptuous furnishings, he said, "My, ain't lend-lease wonder-ful?"

Then, of course, I am disposed to feel a little more kindly toward lend-lease when I think how it has contributed to the mellowness and the happiness of the innumerable cocktail parties that are being held in some of our best hotels. Far be it from me to condemn anything that contributes to the happiness of the world, particularly at this time when we are at war and everybody has plenty of troubles of his own.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman is criticizing the lend-lease program.

Mr. KNUTSON. No; I do not want the gentleman to use the word "criticize" because I am not criticizing. I am merely making some observations.

Mr. RICHARDS. Did the gentleman hear the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys], and the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] refer to an amendment a while ago that cures all the aches and pains of lend-lease? Does the gentleman think that will remedy the situation any?

Mr. KNUTSON. If this House will adopt an amendment that will safeguard the interests of the American taxpayers, who have to pay the bill in the final analysis—well, frankly, I do not believe there are enough economy-minded Members in the House to adopt such an amendment, unfortunately.

Mr. RICHARDS. Does the gentleman believe that this amendment agreed upon remedies the situation, like the majority in the House?

Mr. KNUTSON. Some lawyers say "yes" and some say "no." Not being a lawyer, I cannot add anything to the confusion.

They tell me you can go up to Canada and get all the beef you want, without points, without any restrictions. The reason is that Britain is not buying much beef up in Canada. She likes American beef with that lease-lend flavor. Of course, American beef is corn fed. That also perhaps has something to do with it, because we who come from the Corn Belt think there is no beef in all the world like corn-fed beef.

I hope we will not go into this extension blindly. To me it is inconceivable that the Congress would vote to extend lend-lease if it contains a provision that will permit the administration to enter into commitments that may not be fulfilled for the next 10 or 15 years.

Some say "Yes" and some say "No." Again, not being a lawyer, and my good friend from New York not being a lawyer, neither one of us can add anything to the confusion.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. Why, certainly.

Mr. BLOOM. Did I understand the gentleman to say something about Canada and lend-lease? I do not know whether I understood the gentleman correctly, but may I state that Canada is not a participant in lend-lease at all.

Mr. KNUTSON. I understand that. I merely said the British prefer to buy their beef in this country because they

like the lend-lease flavor, fortified by corn, of course.

Mr. BLOOM. I see.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

Mr. STEFAN. I note in a release of lend-lease of March 11, 1945, it is indicated that Canada accepted the principles of lend-lease on November 30, 1942.

Mr. BLOOM. Canada is not a participant in lend-lease at all.

Mr. STEFAN. Canada merely ac-

cepted the principles of it; is that it? Mr. KNUTSON. Does the gentleman say they accept the principles?

Mr. STEFAN. Yes. Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. KNUTSON. I would be surprised if any of our allies should refuse to accept

Mr. STEFAN. They accepted the principle of lend-lease on November 30,

1942. Mr. BLOOM. Does the gentleman say they accepted the principle of it?

Mr. STEFAN. Yes. Mr. BLOOM. We have not a lendlease agreement between the United States and Canada. The gentleman does not mean to say we are sending lend-lease goods to Canada?

Mr. STEFAN. The notice I have indicates that Canada, on November 30, 1942, accepted the principles of lend-lease.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield. Mr. SHAFER. Could the gentleman tell the House, and I think this is quite important, under what arrangements, if we know anything about the arrangements, do we send gasoline to Great Britain and sell it to them for 15 cents a gallon and then purchase it from Great Britain for use in our airplanes and jeeps and so forth over there for 40 cents a gallon.

Mr. KNUTSON. I presume that is true; yes, I have had a number of letters to that effect. I will say that the returning Members of Congress who visited the European theater of war this winter have commented on that. The gentleman himself was over there so he knows whether it is true or not.

Of course, when it goes over there for 15 cents a gallon, it is lend-lease. When we buy it for 40 cents, it is lend-lease in reverse.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But we do not buy it. There is not a word of truth in that.

Mr. KNUTSON. I am just taking the gentlemen's word for it. There certainly must be some truth in it because there is so much smoke.

Mr. SHAFER. It certainly was told to us over there.

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes; by American officers.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to myself. Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentlewoman very much. I simply wish to say, in commenting on the remark of the gentleman from Minnesota about the sale and purchase of gasoline that we neither sell to nor buy gasoline from the United Kingdom.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked to touch upon lend-lease insofar as it relates to lend-lease in the countries of the Western Hemisphere. During my attendance at the Inter-American Conference on War and Peace recently in Mexico City, I did not hear the subject of lend-lease discussed. I am also informed by other official delegates to the conference that there was no discussion upon that subject, which I think is extremely interesting.

I am very happy to report to the Congress that the delegates at the Inter-American Conference were extremely cooperative, helpful, and courteous in trying to work out measures that would solidify and unite the countries of the Western Hemisphere. I have never seen any group of delegates more helpful than were they. They would have gone farther in some of the military measures than possibly the United States delegates felt the Congress would approve at this time. But the Act of Chapultepec is a step in that direction and should be beneficial in the defense of the Western Hemisphere. Every country of the Western Hemisphere except Argentina was represented at the Conference. We passed a resolution that we hope will bring her into the family of Latin-American republics after she meets certain provisions therein and that she will be therefore eligible and asked to the Conference at San Francisco.

Lend-lease aid which we have extended to the republics of Latin America has been limited to weapons of war and other supplies having a military end-use. This aid has been rendered in the interest of our hemispheric defense and to help the other American republics protect the vital sea lanes to Africa and Europe.

The total amount of such aid to the end of 1944, including the value of goods transferred and services rendered, amounted to \$290,500,000. This represented less than 1 percent of our total lend-lease aid to all countries. Brazil received approximately two-thirds of the aid extended to all of Latin America. We have furnished lend-lease aid to the following republics: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Brazilian soldiers and flyers, equipped in part by lend-lease, are fighting beside American troops in the Italian theater. The ships and planes which we have furnished to Brazil have enabled her to take over a large part of the antisubmarine patrol in the South Atlantic as Mexico and other Central American republics have done in the Caribbean, thus releasing United States naval and air forces for use in other areas. Brazil has made available to us the airport of Natal, which has been a vital factor in the air passage of American planes, including lend-lease planes, en route to Africa, Europe, and Russia. I saw Brazilian

soldiers with the Fifth Army in Italy last October and they were of great assistance to General Clark who was in command of the Sixth Army at that time.

A very short time ago a Mexican air force which was trained in Texas, left for the Pacific and is now taking its place in the air forces of the other United Nations in the war against the Axis.

I would like to report to the Congress the intense interest that the delegates from Latin-America showed in helping us to win the war and in keeping up their supply of war materials which are so vital to us. Our own delegates, advisers, and technicians worked early and late. Some worked all night in the closing days. Every one of the United States delegates felt grateful for what had been accomplished at Mexico City.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has

expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 additional minute. Our able Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius; the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller; the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. William Clayton were splendid leaders of our delegation. My colleagues of the Senate and House worked tirelessly for success at the conference.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I vield.

Mr. STEFAN. I am sure the House is very grateful for the very fine report the gentlewoman has brough back from her recent visit to Latin-America. I wonder if the gentlewoman was present in the Committee when this bill was considered.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I was present at two or three meetings. Unfortunately, I was in Mexico City at the Conference-in a number of thembut I was present at the last meeting of the Committee when the amendment, which is a part of the bill, was agreed to.

Mr. STEFAN. I was wondering whether the Committee, in discussing lend-lease, took into consideration that several lend-lease agreements were made with provisional governments in exile, which for the most part are no longer the recognized governments representing those nations.

For instance, Mihailovitch of Yugoslavia, the Greek situation, the Polish situation; were they discussed in the committee?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I was not at the hearing; I was at Mexico City when that was discussed. I think there are Members here, however, who did hear that discussion.

Mr. STEFAN. Will the gentlewoman give me time to ask that question?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Yes; I yield myself 1 additional minute and yield to the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. STEFAN. I ask the gentleman from New York if he can answer my question.

Mr. BLOOM. Is the gentleman talk-

ing about Mexico City?
Mr. STEFAN. No; about another subject. I wondered whether the committee in discussing the extension of lend-lease for another year discussed the matter of provisional governments and committees which are no longer in existence but with whom we made lend-lease agreements. What becomes of the money they owe us? What arrangements were made about transferring the obligations to governments and committees that are recognized now?

Mr. BLOOM. Would the gentleman

kindly give one example.

Mr. STEFAN. I can give many examples, but one is Mihailovitch in Yugoslavia; another is the Polish situation.

Mr. BLOOM. We had no lend-lease equipment there that was not fully protected by proper agreements.

Mr. STEFAN. Oh, yes; we had lend-lease with Yugoslavia. The agreement was made on July 21, 1942.

was made on July 21, 1942.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

As soon as there is no further use for lend-lease in any of these countries it stops; that is all.

Mr. STEFAN. Do the hearings contain anything on this particular subject?
Mr. BLOOM. No; not in that way.

Mr. STEFAN. Many of these provisional governments and committees with whom we made lend-lease agreements are no longer in existence. Those agreements have stopped, but was any money transferred under lend-lease to those particular governments or committees?

Mr. BLOOM. If any money has come back it has gone into the revolving fund of lend-lease.

Mr. STEFAN. Does the gentleman believe we will get much back?

Mr. BLOOM. Either that or reverse lend-lease, or we get the property. The gentleman must remember that lend-lease never transferred the title of any of the property to any country, never does.

Mr. STEFAN. In other words, it has stopped, and if any money has been paid out we lose that money, that is all.

Mr. BLOOM. That is what the 3-year clean-up period is for, so we will have some opportunity of getting something out of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired. Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may desire to the gentle-

woman from California [Mrs. Douglas].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Mr. Chairman, to speak for lend-lease today is in a sense, I believe, unnecessary. I think we are all agreed that lend-lease must be continued. The vote on the original lend-lease bill constituted a commitment on the part of Congress, a commitment to the spirit, the intent, and the purpose of the act, an expression of faith and hope in the democratic future of this world. It was not a commitment for just a year but for the duration of the war. The continuous repassage of the bill is very much like the renewing of vows which the partners to a successful marriage make to one another on each anniversary of their union.

So it is really not lend-lease of which I wish to speak; I wish to speak of one of the byproducts which we receive from

lend-lease, which is not tabulated on any of the charts which we find in the committee hearings. It is found in the words of the testimony of some of those men who had to do with lend-lease, who appeared before us in the committee, men upon whose shoulders much of the prosecution of the war has rested. I would like to quote here the words of the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War:

What I wish to make clear is that all of these gigantic movements, covering so many vast theaters of combat in opposite portions of the globe have been successfully carried on by the smoothly coordinated efforts of a group of Allied Nations. These nations have faced powerful enemies who almost everywhere had the tremendous advantage of shorter and interior lines. Nothing but superb cooperation could have secured success against such odds. To that cooperation, the lend-lease machinery has been an indispensable assistance. Without its material aid, and the still more potent assistance of the good will which it has fostered, no such result could have been anticipated or effected.

Mr. Chairman, I say that without this good will which Secretary Stimson, Admiral Land, and others who appeared before the committee testified to, we could not have won this war. We will not win the peace without it either. I say that we have through the instrumentality of lend-lease a revolving fund from which we can spend, and I say, too, at this crucial hour that we must dip sparingly into that revolving fund. Words which can be the greatest spendthrift of good will must be used with greater wisdom and greater reserve than ever before. Unless we do, the peaceful world for which we all work today and for which millions are dying may never become a reality.

I remember the scarred faces and the maimed bodies I have seen as I walked through the hospitals. As the President said in this great Chamber, we do not talk into a vacuum. Words ring around the world. Words can destroy the peace we are trying to build for tomorrow. Words today recklessly spoken can filll hospitals 20 years from now.

Let us husband the good will that has come to us through the lend-lease program, knowing what a treasure we have with which to start the building of our new home for the future, in which all the men on the face of the earth must live.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Woodruff].

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, the bill before the Committee today is one which every Member of the House should give more than passing attention. Before voting upon it, every one of us should ponder our fantastic national debt and also the fact that, before all the wars in which we are engaged are over, it will be one to stagger the imagination of those who have the power to think.

Mr. Chairman, I volunteered and served through the Spanish War as a corporal of Company G, Thirty-third Michigan Volunteer Infantry, this being the Owosso Company in that regiment of the National Guard. We were a part of the expeditionary forces and were in action at the Battle of Santiago.

I volunteered and served for 2 years in the First World War as an infantry

officer, serving 111/2 months in that capacity with our expeditionary forces in France; returning to this country with the rank of major. When I volunteered I left at home a wife, a daughter of 11, and a son of 9. That son of mine is now a major in the United States Army, serving somewhere in the Pacific. I have not been informed as to the area of his activity. At the time of Pearl Harbor he had been very happily married for 10 years. Within a few days after that tragic event he volunteered for service and was accepted. He has an excellent record in the Army, and I am very proud of him. Early in life I taught him that every person who accepts the privileges of citizenship takes upon himself also the responsibilities of citizenship. With men those responsibilities include an obligation to defend the country, in the way they can best serve during a great national emergency. That is and should be inescapable to those physically capable of service.

I volunteered for service in the First World War, believing I was helping to "make the world safe for democracy," and that out of it all would grow a better understanding and relationship between nations. I had always believed that nations could get together, compromise their differences, and live at peace with each other if only the rulers and ruling classes of those nations would approach the agreement in a spirit of unselfishness and a determination to understand the problems of others.

After my return from France for demobilization in August 1919, I immediately returned to Europe on business and remained there for 6 months. During this time my business brought me in contact with the public officials of eight different countries. Very much to my surprise I found the ruling officials and classes had learned exactly nothing as a result of their participation in the war. The same suspicion of each other; the same sordid selfishness controlling their every action, and a total lack of knowledge gained from their experience was evident wherever I went. I will cite one case as typical. I made two trips to Poland from Paris in the winter of 1919-20. This was when Paderewski was Premier. By business was with the Government and brought me in contact with the Minister of Finance, a man by the name of Bielinski, a Galician Pole. perhaps will recall that, after Poland was partitioned, by Russia, Germany and Austria in 1795, neither Russia nor Germany permitted a Pole to have anything whatsoever to do with government. Austria, wisely I think, utilized the services of outstanding Poles in governmental as well as other activities. Galicia was made a part of the Austrian loot at the time of partitioning.

At the outbreak of World War No. 1 in 1914, Minister of Finance Bielinski was a high official of the Austrian Government, and as such was one of the three men who signed the declaration of war against Serbia, such action precipitating the world's First World War. One would think that a man, whose hand had signed the document that had plunged nearly the whole world into war, thereby signing the death warrant of 10,000,000 of

the world's finest young men—to say nothing of the more than 40,000,000 of civilians who died as a result of the war—and who had lived to see the government and nation of which he was a part completely dismembered ,and destroyed economically, would have learned something of the futility of war. Not so in the case of Mr. Bielinski, however.

When I was in Poland it was in the dead of winter and bitterly cold. Conditions were desperate. Bread lines everywhere. Poland had been the battleground over which the Russians and Germans had fought back and forth, each retreating army removing from the land what could in any way be helpful to the pursuing army. The result was that every living thing was removed from the farms of the country. On my two trips there I rode for hours through some of the finest farming lands I have ever seen. I saw not one sign of life on any farm. There was no food for man or beast. The farmers had flocked into the cities. because it was there only that food was available in sufficient quantities to sustain life. Warsaw, a city of 700,000 prior to the war, had doubled in population because of these conditions. To show how completely denuded of animals Poland had become, it is only necessary to recall that in the bitter cold of winter such coal as was to be had was delivered by men hauling and pushing wagons through the streets. Apparently this was the only medium of fuel delivery in that great city. I saw women tramping through the snow with nothing on their feet but little slippers; no stockings and no overgarments that could substantially contribute to their comfort. Men were similarly clad. Bread lines were everywhere. Conditions were as desperate as they could possibly be.

Notwithstanding this, however, controlling Polish officials, not satisfied with the boundary lines as laid down by the Versailles Peace Conference, had raised and poorly equipped an army of a million men. This army was pushing into Bolshevik territory, seeking to reestablish the boundary lines that existed at the time of the partitioning previously mentioned. The fact that they had neither sufficient supplies nor arms to wage war successfully was apparently given little consideration. In a conference with Mr. Bielinski 1 day I suggested that Poland probably was creating a great deal of unnecessary trouble for herself. Said be "What do you mean by that?" "Your armies are pushing into Bolshevik territory," I responded, "and when spring comes and the Russians can move their armies and matériel against you they will drive you into the sea." The old gentleman-and I call him old because of his evident age-with the utmost complacency and assurance declared, "Oh, that is not possible." This gentleman was highly intelligent, but even his intelligence had enabled him to learn nothing as a result of one of the most disastrous wars that any nation had ever experienced. It is interesting to note in this connection that the following spring the Russians did drive the Poles out of Russia and invade Poland. They nearly captured Warsaw and would have overrun the country had it not been for the

aid extended by France. As I said before, the attitude of Bielinski typified that of others in like positions with whom I came in contact in the countries I visited.

It had been with great hopes for future world peace that I watched the proceedings at Versailles, but when the final draft of the treaty was published I quickly realized that within the structure of the treaty itself was written what amounted to a prohibition of future peace. All the elements for future war were incorporated therein.

The following quotation from the book, The Peace Negotiations, a personal narrative by Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson during the Versailles Peace Conference, seems timely:

The League of Nations, created by the treaty, is relied upon to preserve the artificial structure which has been erected by compromise of the conflicting interests of the great powers and to prevent the germination of the seeds of war which are sown in so many articles and which under normal conditions would soon bear fruit. The league might as well attempt to prevent the growth of plant life in a tropical jungle. Wars will come sooner or later.

It must be admitted in honesty that the league is an instrument of the mighty to check the normal growth of national power and national aspirations among those who have been rendered impotent by defeat. Examine the treaty and you will find peoples delivered against their wills into the hands of those whom they hate, while their economic resources are torn from them and given to others. Resentment and bitterness, if not desperation, are bound to be the consequences of such provisions. It may be years before these oppressed peoples are able to throw off the yoke, but as sure as day follows night the time will come when they will make the effort.

This war was fought by the United States to destroy forever the conditions which produced it. Those conditions have not been destroyed. They have been supplanted by other conditions equally productive of hatred, jealousy, and suspicion. In place of the Triple Alliance and the Entente has arisen the quintuple alliance which is to rule the world. The victors in this war intend to impose their combined will upon the vanquished and to subordinate all interests to their own.

Mr. Chairman, the prophets of old could not have looked into the future more clearly than did Mr. Lansing, who was at the elbow of President Wilson all during the conference.

It was a most significant fact that we were the only nation of the many represented at Versailles that asked for nothing, except that the nations of the world live at peace with one another. Every other nation represented there reached out with greedy hands and clutched everything they could possibly secure. There was not a single exception to this. If anything further were needed to convince me that the ruling classes of the world were not yet ready for permanent peace, it was my experience in Europe and my contacts with the ruling classes thereof.

I had been in France on business shortly after we entered the war in April 1917. I returned to this country in time to enter the second officers' training camp. While in Paris, Georges Despret, French delegate minister of

commerce, said to me: "Mr. Woodruff, when the United States came into this war we were defeated. We were bled white. It is only the fact that your armies are coming that gives us the courage to hang on until you get here." Other French citizens told me the same thing. What they said was confirmed by what I saw when I was on the train between Bordeaux and Paris. Everywhere old men, women, and little children were working in the fields. One occasionally would see among them a man in uniform, evidently a soldier either on furlough or recovering from wounds. Every able-bodied man was in the army. France had fought a gallant fight. Her casualties could be counted by the millions. Her resources were expended. She was defeated, and she knew it. There can be no question that our getting into the war saved France. With her out of it, Britain could not possibly have won. The war would spedily have ended disastrously for both nations.

When once we entered the war we did so wholeheartedly. We loaned our allies billions "on the cuff." We moved our armies and supplies to the western front and to other battle areas. It was not long before we had 2,000,000 fighting men in France. We built and equipped rail-roads. We built harbors and docks. We established a complete telephone and telegraph system that covered every area throughout France in which our troops were located; in fact, we provided every facility we needed for the efficient functioning of our Army of 2,000,000, all of which we left in France. These things had cost us more than a billion dollars. France offered us \$400,000,000 for the whole thing. It was only a promise. She never paid us a dollar on the account and presumably is still using the equipment and facilities. We also moved our Navy to European waters, thus helping to close the seas to the German Navy.

Our losses were: 39,362 killed in action; 14,009 died of wounds; 75,460 died of disease; 1,297 died of accidents and other causes; 192,369 were wounded in action; 786,738 have since died, many of them from disabilities incurred in their service. It has cost us \$13,721,000,000 for these disabled veterans and their dependents since the war. It will cost us \$1,300,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1945. This includes relief to veterans of the present war and their beneficiaries. These costs will skyrocket before the present war ends.

We know our costs down the years growing out of the war would be stag-Yet we asked for nothing at Versailles—not one dollar of indemnity, not one foot of territory. Naturally we expected the loans, which Congress cut more than in half when the final settlement was agreed upon, would be paid. We reduced the interest rate to the point where it was almost nonexistent. Our debtor nations agreed this was a fair settlement. Notwithstanding this, however, it was not long before the French named us "Uncle Shylock" and the British led all other debtor nations, except Finland, in their repudiation of the debts.

At no time did our former allies so conduct themselves as to cause us to be-

lieve honesty or gratitude had any part or place in their thinking. Are we justified in believing our experience in this war will be greatly different, except in increased degree, than it was during and following the other one, unless we proceed with care and confine our activities and efforts to cooperating with our allies, and not permit ourselves to continue to be persuaded to carry far more than our proper share of the burdens past, present, and future?

The present situation differs from the other in that from the very first the beneficiaries of lend-lease, so-called, were not asked either to pay for or to return the supplies, matériel, and money we have placed in their hands. We will not be repaid for any part of our contributions of money or goods.

In a report which came to our desks a few days ago, I learn we have disposed of thirty-six of the seventy-four billions of the one-time available lend-lease funds-thirty-six thousand millions of dollars. A lot of money you will agree. I think also that, if no further appropriations are made, there is an ample balance to more than take care of any justified purposes.

Such supplies as have been delivered by us to the beneficiaries, with the exception of Canada, who has not accepted lend-lease, New Zealand and Australiaboth of whom have about offset our contributions to them-constitute token payments only. Already we are being urged to recognize "blessings" would follow a continuation of lend-lease after the war.

We are now informed that it is the purpose of high authority to leave in Europe everything we have over there, including all supplies and equipment for our own armies-supplies, railroad, and other equipment of value in peacetime, war supplies and equipment, including all ordnance and ammunition. Whether this includes all our warplanes is not clear. From usually reliable sources we hear that we already are committed to the further gift of five billions in lendlease to Russia and six billions to Great Britain after the emistice. We also hear of six billions to China. Recently it was officially announced by the State Department that we have signed up with France to extend lend-lease in the amc\_int of \$2.575,000,000 to be used also after the war. While the billions are being passed around, how many are to go to Belgium, Holland, Greece, Italy, and all the other nations which have suffered from this war? It was only a few days ago that General De Gaulle affronted our President by refusing to see him. Can the \$2,575,000,000 be considered a peace offering? What in heaven's name are we coming to?

You will remember that Mr. Churchill told us, "Just give us the tools and we will do the job." He well knew that if we embarked on that program it would be but another short step to furnishing the armies also. The fact that we now have 3,000,000 fighting men in Europe and that they are doing the major share of the fighting on the western front in that area seems to prove the point.

Our expenditures in the Central and South American republics on boondoggling and other projects are fantastic. A program of six billions over a period of 3 years is now under way. This was disclosed by Senator Butler, of Nebraska, after a tour of investigation there. This was vigorously denied in the Senate by the New Deal Senators, but after an audit by James A. Councilor & Co., Washington certified public accountants, no further denials have been heard. What other commitments, not yet disclosed, we may have around the world only the Supreme Being knows.

Under U. N. R. R. A. we will be expected to carry the load in restoring the war-devastated countries—to rebuild electric lighting and waterworks systems, transportation, and other facilities; restore the old and supply new manufacturing plants, feed and clothe the people until such time as they can supply themselves.

Apparently no one in the administration gives serious thought to the American taxpayer who must pay for all this. In 1932, when he was a candidate for the office he still holds, Mr. Roosevelt said: "Taxes are paid in the sweat of the man who labors." No man ever spoke more accurately. Taxes are paid across the counter. If we spend beyond the national income, whatever we spend, wherever we spend it, whatever we spend it for, a debt is created which the American taxpayer must sometime pay. No other nation will do it for us. Our past experience should teach us that at least.

Little thought apparently is given to the ability of other nations to rehabilitate themselves. Little thought is given to the fact that our national debt is greater than that of all our allies combined, and that it is increasing much more rapidly. Congress is now asked to extend the debt limit to \$300,000,000,000. It will be again increased. Certainly it will be much larger than the amount now asked for before we will have finished with our adventure into world power politics. It is high time that every one of us should open our eyes to what is going on in this world and what it will mean to all of us if a halt is not called to the fantastic policies that mean national bankruptcy.

When I volunteered in World War No. 1, I was 41 years old—past the draft age. I was shocked beyond words by the stories of the horrible atrocities perpetrated on the Belgians by the Germans, appearing almost daily on the front pages of our newspapers and on our billboards. Many of these stories stemmed directly from the British white papers. As they were official, it was natural that our people should believe them. During the 6 months I was in Europe, following my demobilization, I made several trips into Belgium, and while there made it my business to investigate the reports we had received such as "cutting off the hands of little boys that they might not later become members of the armed forces," "the crucifixion of Canadian soldiers," "the processing of the bodies of our dead from which fats could be secured with which to manufacture more powder to kill more young Americans,'

"the ravishing of Belgian women by German officers in the occupied areas. to mention only a few. Everywhere I went I talked with business people and others. I talked with hundreds about these stories. Not in one single instance did I find verification for any one of them. No one had ever heard of them. In the last-named instance the answer invariably was the same: "We never heard of anything like that, but we do know many Belgian women married German officers."

Those stories of atrocities with which we daily were regaled were made up of whole cloth. There was not a shred of evidence anywhere in substantiation of them. They were sent to us for the sole purpose of arousing our people to the point where we would enter the war against the Central Powers. That the efforts were successful is history. I was among the deluded.

A book, Falsehood in Wartime, by Arthur Ponsonby, a very prominent member of the British Parliament, was published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., in London in 1922. It was republished in 1923 by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York. It is an amazing collection of carefully documented lies circulated in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and America. It completely exposes the falsity of the propaganda which so aroused our people and demonstrates the theory that "self-preservation is the first law of nature," and that it applies to nations as well as to individuals. Neither stop at anything to preserve

I think every intelligent and unselfish human being was stirred to his depths when the Atlantic Charter with its four freedoms was announced to the world. We were informed that the compact was signed, sealed, and delivered, and that it was the purpose of the Allied Powers to bring these freedoms to the peoples of the world. It was not long, however, before disillusionment took place. Mr. Churchill, in a speech to the lord mayor of London, in November 1942, stated:

Let me, however, make this clear, in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarter. We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British

This was rather graphically sustantiated on the Island of Tarawa, after the island had been taken from the Japs by our marines, when the British commissioners, on November 24, went ashore and hoisted the British flag. There had not been one British fighting man on the island while the fighting was going on. Our losses were 988 killed and 2,163 wounded, but there was the commissioner on the job to protect the British sovereignty of the island as soon as it was safe to go ashore. Good taste and some degree of decency would have delayed that ceremony for a time at least.

On February 17, 1942, not long after we had entered the present war, in a speech in Parliament, Mr. Churchill said:

When I survey and compute the power of the United States and its vast resources, and

feel that now they are in it with us, in with the British Commonwealth of Nations altogether, however long it lasts, till death or victory, I cannot believe there is any other fact in the whole world which can compare with that.

The entry of the United States into the war.

That is what I have dreamed of, aimed at, and worked for, and now it has come to pass.

Such candor is rarely found in worldfamous statesmen. That Mr. Churchill was deeply impressed is also shown by his statement that he considered this to be his greatest accomplishment in all the years of his service for the Empire.

The Churchill speech to the Lord Mayor of London was delivered on November 10, 1942. This was about the time when it seemed probable the Japs were to invade India. There was a growing and insistent demand on the part of the people of that country for some degree of freedom—for at least a step toward self-government. The country seemed really aroused and anything might have happened. The speech served two purposes. First, it notified the rebellious Indians that Great Britain would not yield an inch at any time, especially while the war was on; that any attempt at rebellion would be put down with an iron hand.

Second, it constituted due notice to the people of the United States and of the world that, regardless of the declared agreement as to the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms," such activity will not be permitted to even remotely touch the people of the British possessions. In response to suggestions from outside the Empire touching its administration, Mr. Churchill also stated that "no interference from any source whatever will be tolerated in handling the affairs of the Empire."

On February 23, 1942, Stalin listed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and a part of Poland as "Soviet land." Not only has no responsible official so far contradicted the claims of many Russian authorities that the Soviet Union means to take and keep those small unfortunate areas, but also Finland and Rumania, lands which have become victims of Russian aggression. From the more recent Soviet activities the expansion program appears far more ambitious than was indicated by Mr. Stalin in his original statement. It must be clear even to the most obtuse that Mr. Stalin will not permit the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms" to cramp his style.

All this is reminiscent of the closing days of World War No. 1. Woodrow Wilson was then at the helm of our affairs. He was a far-seeing, highly intelligent, and idealistic gentleman. In seeking peace he kept one thought ever before him—that of reaching a peace based upon terms that would permit all nations to live at peace with each other; that would give to each nation a place in the economic sun that would enable its people to live on a basis of freedom and a reasonable prosperity. Britain and France agreed to Mr. Wilson's 14 points—"in principle." At the Peace Conference at Versailles neither would agree to anything that even remotely approached Mr. Wilson's demands. Instead, our President was finally compelled to agree to the treaty which eventually was promulgated. He returned home bitterly disappointed, his health ruined, and he finally died knowing his efforts for future peace had failed completely, and that future wars were inevitable.

It seems very clear that Mr. Roosevelt now finds himself in the same position that Mr. Wilson earlier found himself. At the coming peace conference he will find himself faced with two individuals just as inexorable, just as determined to promote the power of their respective countries as were Clemenceau and Lloyd George a quarter of a century ago. He will have brought home to him anew the fact that "when the devil is sick, the devil a saint would be, but when he gets well, a devil again is he," and that this applies to nations as well as individuals.

Certainly Churchill has let it be known that not for one moment will he agree to anything which will prevent the British Empire doing exactly what he believes it should do to perpetuate its present organization and power. Stalin's position differs from Churchill's only in the fact that he proposes not only to maintain Russia's present holdings, power, and influence, but also to extend the same to a point not yet disclosed.

We are living in a very practical world. The human animal is a selfish one. Wars stem directly from the selfishness in human hearts. Judging from the fact recorded history tells us that from 1500 B. C. to 1860 A. D. more than 8,000 treaties of peace, meant to remain in force foreer, were concluded, and that the average time they remained in force was 2 years, indicates the ephemeral character of treaties and the futility of wars as a medium of settling disputes between nations.

There have been nearly 300 wars in the three centuries of the modern state system. The settlement of the more important ones, in most instances, because of the selfishness written into peace agreements, have been followed by other wars of greater magnitude and more horrible death-dealing methods.

Certainly if we continue our wars and improvement of weapons and methods of destroying human life the human race will revert to the standard of the Dark Ages. Civilization simply cannot survive unless we radically change our ways.

All this leads me to the question, What are we going to do about it? You know, of course, I would have kept us out of the present war if I had found it possible. It seemed clear we were continuing a policy of perpetuating the British Empire, which we began in 1917. It seemed a disastrous course to follow. I am first for the perpetuation of the United States of America. I am against this country becoming entangled in a web of international power politics, and would have kept us out of them. How-ever, we are in "up to our necks." Now that we are in, the only way out for us is to fight our way out, and I am for this program to the end. I will do everything in my power to help win the war in the shortest possible time. Every other method of establishing peace in the world having failed, I shall go along with the

program of disarming the belligerent nations and keeping them disarmed until they are ready to live in comity with their neighbors.

It follows, therefore, of course, that I must oppose with all the strength that God may give me any scheme which can work out only to draw us and the world into more wars in the future. It does not matter if the war plant is labeled a "peace plan." Mr. Roosevelt's policies have all been termed "peace policies." Power politics is power politics under any label, and the only plans that have thus far come from this administration involve a disguised variety of the same power politics which have always led to war. The only difference is that in the future, unless we watch our step, we will be leading instead of following the procession into war.

I shall continue to do everything I can to preserve this as the greatest land of opportunity for the common man this world has ever known. If it is to be preserved, it will be through a return to constitutional government, under which any man, no matter how lowly born, can aspire to and can win for himself the highest office in the land or a measure of prosperity which is possible only in this America of ours.

(Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Gavin].

(Mr. GAVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I hesitate to bring this matter into this debate at this time. However, after the very masterful defense by the distinguished gentleman from New York, of the action of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on all matters pertaining to the military, I wonder how the gentleman can justify the action of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Canol project. Certainly no one wants to detract from their brilliant war record and the magnificent victories they are daily recording, but it should be their duty to stay with the business of war. I trust there will not be any Canol projects under the lend-lease legislation that will prove so great a failure as Canol.

The War Department has finally written off the Canol project—that fantastic excursion which would not have been undertaken by any man of experience and judgment in such matters.

It is to be abandoned, the Department says in a lengthy press release, "by June 30." A committee of the other branch of the Congress asked why the project should not be closed down now, as it costs about \$1,000,000 per month to operate. I can find no answer to that, except that an appropriation was made last year of about \$16,500,000 for maintenance and operation of the project, it has not been used up yet, and it would be a violation of the traditions of this project to try to economize by quitting now and saving two or three million dollars.

I have spoken on this subject before to the Members of this House and to the public. That was a long time ago. On October 12 and October 19 of 1943 I covered this story fully. It is no great pleasure to me to see my early fears of complete failure confirmed. I had talked to men who were wise in the development, the transportation and the refining of petroleum before saying anything about it. Economically, the Canol project was an absurdity of such high degree that anyone outside of Government who would propose such a thing would be thought to be a fit subject for a mental examination. Militarily, it falls equally flat. It has not yielded as much gasoline and other products as was required on the project itself. All the steam was used to blow the whistle.

The War Department, of course, has not admitted to having made an error. With a tenacity, a stubbornness which would be admirable on the battlefield but is wholly inexcusable here, the Department blandly seeks in its press release to create the impression that Canol was, after all, a great triumph. The most infantile of the several justifications set forth by the alert Public Relations Bureau of the War Department is that expressed in the following paragraph:

The Canol project has demonstrated that oil may be conveyed over long distances and refined in year-around operations in the Arctic despite difficulties of terrain and climate. The knowledge and experience obtained from the operation of Canol will be of great value if indicated large reservoirs of oil in Alaska or northwestern Canada materialize. Such oil can be made an available continental resource.

Well, perhaps that is the most tangible of the gains the Department can think of. I wonder how much time and effort on the part of the military was necessary to figure out that one? Certainly the physical properties have little value. The War Department has spent about \$135,000,000 of the taxpayers money in demonstrating that oil can be moved around and refined in a cold climate, and if there is any oil found up there in the future, it will be useful information to have available. If that is all that was accomplished, the knowledge could have been acquired for a few thousand dollars instead of the many millions that were spent.

We do not know just what the cost was. It has been placed officially by a congressional committee at more than \$134,000,000. The War Department, by a different system of bookkeeping, scales down this figure, chiefly by charging to another account the construction of products distribution lines. As a matter of fact, the cost cannot be calculated by any method. Several thousand soldiers were used on the construction. Materials by the thousands of tons—critical and strategic materials which the oil industry of the United States was begging for-went into this fantastic adventure in the Canadian wilder-Who can reduce to dollars the good that would have been achieved by their use in the oil fields of this country? Trucks and tractors, airplanes, river boats and barges, and all the supplies and equipment needed to maintain thousands of soldiers and more thousands of civilians who worked on the job for 2 years would have advanced the war effort immeasurably if used in a sensible way. What could those workers have achieved in war production here at home? Incidentally, there are a couple of thousand persons still on the pay roll and will be until June.

Now, says the War Department, they are beginning to prepare to put a valuation on the project and will offer it for sale under the agreement with Canada. Who will buy it? No oil company would be interested in more than a fragment of it. It is to be appraised with regard to its commercial value. There is no market for a couple of thousand barrels of production up in the Canadian wilderness, and mark me, it will fall into disuse and be abandoned. The scrap would not bring the cost to take it out. The Dominion of Canada seems to have a preference, and they show sound judg-ment, for letting private industry develop oil fields and build refineries and it is unlikely that the Canadian Government will want a property which requires a million dollars of public money to

Canol contributed nothing to winning the war. It detracted from the total war effort. It was an extravagant waste of manpower and materials in a period of war when the country was crying for both. The War Department consulted oil men before it started the job in 1942 and all such advisers urged as strongly as they could that the project not be started; they suggested alternative means of supplying oil that would cost far less and would yield greater and more immediate results, but little or no attention was paid to them.

If we will take careful stock and remember this project well through the years to come, perhaps there is something of value in it. It should serve as a lasting warning to leave industrial affairs to the men who know about such things. The War Department knows how to wage war. Let it be confined to its proper role from here on. It has no business in trying to develop oil-fields or run refineries. In this case, its judgment on advisers was bad. It disregarded the opinions of those whose experience entitled them to express opinions, including those who discovered the oil field which was to supply the refinery, and adopted the views of men who knew no more about what they were getting into than they would about the whaling industry.

Other departments have been trying to get into the oil business. The Navy has a project under way at this time in an area of Alaska that is even more inaccessible than is the Canol. No further encouragement or money should be given to this. The Interior Department has been turned down twice in the past year in its ambition to go wildcatting in Alaska. If there is oil to be obtained in that Territory private industry will find it and develop it under a policy of leasing which is liberal enough to compensate for the risks involved. Certainly, the taxpayers of this country should not be compelled to pay for any more of these wild gambles by any agency of government. Whenever one of the proposals

is made our watchword should be, "Remember the Canol."

The inquiries heretofore made into this project should not be ended. There remains to be filed the ultimate responsibility for ordering the thing started. It made no sense at any time. The emergency situation in early 1942, when the Japanese were attacking the Aleutians. could not be met by instituting a wildcat oil exploration and a construction job that many foresaw, and advised the War Department, would require a long time. The Japs were driven from the Aleutians long before 1 gallon of gasoline came from the Canol refinery, but the project went merrily on when millions of dollars could have been saved for the American taxpayers.

This entire project should be given an immediate investigation by the Lea Petroleum Committee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce or by Military Affairs. Certainly it must be agreed the American people are entitled to a full explanation on this \$138,000,000 project which is now being unceremoniously junked with an official War Department release. I say "unceremoniously," because if I remember correctly, they held a ceremony when it was completed, announcing to the world that the great Canol was in operation.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Johnson].

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I simply want to call attention to an explanation which is full and complete, relative to some of the charges that have been made in the debate today with reference to farm machinery, in a statement contained in a letter from Mr. Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom], chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which will be found on page A321 of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD of this session of Congress. It shows that this statement, like many others that have been made about lend-lease, is grossly exaggerated and not in accordance with the facts. As was stated by the gentleman from New York Mr. WADSWORTH]—in his statement he said 3 percent, but I think the record will show not less than 2 percent of farm machinery has gone under lend-lease to our allies, and it has only gone when and where the military said it was necessary for the production of food for our soldiers, and many of the American farm tractors have been used in the clearing of ground for air bases in England and also the building of military roads in France, and elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I have no further request for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read. The Clerk read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That subsection (c) of section 3 of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1945" wherever it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1946"; by striking out "July 1, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1949"; and

by striking out "July 1, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1946"; and subsection (b) of section 6 of such act is amended by striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1949."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I offer a committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Bloom: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

"Sec. 2. That subsection (c) of section 3 of such act is further amended by striking out the period after the word 'earlier,' inserting a semicolon, and the following new language: 'Provided however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a for-eign government for post-war relief, postwar rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction; except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I simply wish to state that during my absence from the floor this afternoon my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Luther A. Johnson] read the amendment and also the statement on the amendment. This amendment was agreed to unanimously by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, especially by the Members who signed the minority report. There was a unanimous vote of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on this amendment.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to confine my remarks primarily to an amendment I expect to offer as soon as the pending amendment is disposed of; but I bring it to your attention now in order that you may have a little time to think it over.

The amendment I propose to offer -would join the Congress of the United States to the President in approving the termination of contracts of lend-lease with foreign governments. It seems to me the lend-lease act was very weak in respect of the termination of contracts made under it. It is a poor way for America to aid the war. There is no reason why the termination of these contracts should not be with the approval of the Congress. That is our responsibility, the responsibility of Congress. The amendment I propose to offer is one that was offered a year ago by the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. Schiffler, who was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It seems strange to me that the committee at that time would not adopt that amendment. I claim no pride of authorship; it is Mr. Schiffler's and one which I believe the Congress is duty bound to consider fully when we terminate these contracts.

I cannot understand why the Congress of the United States has per-

mitted the Chief Executive to handle all the affairs of lend-lease. Seems to me Congress abdicated. It is true that he has appointed an administrator, but when it comes to the termination of these contracts more than one or two men should enter into the discussion of how they should be settled. Our taxpayers want to know about the settlement. A manufacturing concern which sent its manufactured products to another concern with no arrangemet whatever as to how they were to be settled for would be accused of very loose credit practices. It would be only a short time in my judgment until that concern went into bankruptcy. I liken this lend-lease program to such a dealing. We are elected as trustees representing the stockholders of this country, we have been sent here for the purpose of looking after the interests of America, of the American Treasury, of the American taxpaver.

If we had a man at the head of our Government who loved America as much as Mr. Churchill loves Great Britain or as Mr. Stalin loves Russia I would not fear so much the outcome of what happens at the termination of lend-lease for America to get her just dues in a final settlement, but I do not favor altogether the idea that we should permit the power to be lodged in any one man in this country regardless of who he may be. America might be sold short.

I wish to read you a statement made by the President of the United States in his address in St. Louis, Mo., on October 31, 1932:

My job will be to prevent a recurrence of this incident and to prevent the hard-earned dollars of American investors from being frittered away in foreign fields encouraged by the sanction of the Federal Government of the United States and with the profits flowing only to certain international financiers whose greed is greater than their patriotism.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I have not time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have heard several remarks this afternoon about farm machinery in Great Britain. The gentleman from Texas just made a statement about its not being farm machinery.

I was born on a farm and I think I know what farm machinery is-harrows, discs, plows, and all that sort of thingand may I say to the gentleman from Texas who just spoke to you that I saw about 640 acres of new farm machinery over there in England. I also saw trucks unloading more farm machinery at the time I was there. I also read Mr. Crowley's statement in the Congressional RECORD that this machinery was roadbuilding machinery to be used over in France. I am not objecting to farm machinery being sent to Great Britain because I think it was necessary. It has helped Great Britain come from the point of producing around 30 or 40 percent of her food production to up around 70 percent, but unfortunately the people

who are handling lend-lease and the military go on the theory that you can never get too much. Of course that is not so. You can get too much farm machinery, you can get too much of one thing and not enough of something else. The thing that happened so far as our farm machinery is concerned is that we sent entirely too much farm machinery to Great Britain. We were overenthusiastic in our belief that we could do something for Great Britain. I am not objecting to sending some of it to them, but they do not need as much as we sent them. The farmers of this country have been doing without machinery.

If you will take the time to read in the RECORD the hearings, page 168, you will note that I placed in the RECORD at that point the official report of Great Britain that I received when I was over there in October, showing what they were doing in reverse lend-lease. You will also notice some very interesting items that they gave us, for instance, 1,280 bottles of whisky. You will find that they gave us pianos over there, some bolts and screws, and so forth: You will also find the number of hours they spent in moving lend-lease equipment from one place to another for us, their lend-lease equipment. They go into a great deal of detail, and I am not criticizing the British for doing that. I think it is fine; I believe we ought to have good bookkeeping methods, but I have been unable to find where the Americans have been as meticulous in their bookkeeping methods as the British have been. It is rather interesting to me when I read in so much detail the amount of things they have given us in lend-lease.

I brought this article back and had it put in the RECORD at the time, because they are doing a good job of keeping track of what they do for us. But I think the time has come when we must have some accounting on lend-lease, a statement as to how long, to what extent, and how many billions of dollars the lend-lease policy is going to be continued once a normal peace has returned to Europe. You know the original purpose of lend-lease, as rather loosely stated, was that the United States would provide the money and the materiel of war and our European friends were to do the fighting and dying and our participation in the war could be avoided. I read some of the statements by Members when the Lend-Lease Act was adopted in this House. I was not a Member at that time. Members on the right side of the aisle who were Members at that time should read some of the speeches they made in 1941 when the House adopted the Lend-Lease Act; they should go back, and then sco what has really happened.

Lend-lease was necessary, but it was not a measure to keep us out of the war. Unfortunately, we have now some 11,-000,000 men in this war. The Prime Minister of England said at one time, "Give us the tools and we will do the job." But what is the picture? We have not only given them the tools but we are furnishing 75 or 80 percent of the men on the fighting fronts of Europe; we are having all the casualties of the war, and how many men are we furnishing in the Pacific theater? Most of them. Eng-

land has furnished a few down in India to police that territory. In other words, lend-lease did not keep us out of war. We have furnished the tools, we have furnished up to now some 11,000,000 men, and the casualties are running-up close to a million.

Mr. PLOESER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. PLOESSER. May I say to the gentleman that, with the exception of the India area, we are furnishing 100 percent of the men in the Pacific.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The gentleman is against the Australians.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. The majority leader can get all the time he wants on the subject. I have been here all afternoon seeking time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, we have already spent around \$40,000,000,000 and there will be from twenty-five to thirty billion dollars more that has not been spent. Just how far are we going to go in the rehabilitation and construction of Europe under lendlease? The pending amendment presently before the House helps clarify the situation.

When I went before the committee handling this bill I rather strongly urged that some terminal facilities be provided for lend-lease. I think it is necessary and I am certain that the folks out in my country want the American Congress to stand up and protest most vigorously the wanton waste of our American resources without some promise of a fair return. I feel certain that we can dissipate our resources in this country to a point where we will no longer be a strong and virile nation. To what extent actually can Uncle Sam, having done his full part in the winning of the war, convert himself next into a perpetual Santa Clause for all the world? Truly it is a problem deserving the careful consideration of Congress. The war has cost the United States more than \$250,000,000,000. The national debt limit has recently been increased to \$300,000,000,000. Such figures are beyond understanding. They would represent hopeless bankruptcy if demand payment were required now. It is argued by some mystics, however, that ince "we owe it to ourselves" the debt does not count. The taxpayers are, many, if not most of them, bondholders, and the bondholders are all of them taxpayers. The debt could be wiped out if the Government were so minded, by transferrals from the right pocket to the left pocket.

I hope that this Congress will give careful thought to how far we should go with lend-lease. I think that we should keep very careful books on lendlease.

When I came back from England I made some statements about lend-lease and how it was being treated. Of course, some folks in Congress and in England did not like it, and they called me by telephone and wanted me to retract some of my statements. I supported it the last time. With the large amount of money now available for lend-lease it is possible it can be used in such a way as to waste the resources of America and destroy our future.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I yield to

the gentleman from New York.
Mr. BLOOM. Do I understand the gentleman to say that when he came back from England he made several statements that the British called him up about?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Yes; the

British press in New York.

Mr. BLOOM. And the gentleman did not resent it?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Yes; I resented it.

Mr. BLOOM. That is an unusual thing. I am surprised that the gentleman would make a statement like that.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. May I tell you one conversation I had with a newspaperman in New York? He said, "Congressman, we were in this war 2 years before you were. What do you think you owe us for that?"

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman said that a British representative asked him to retract or withdraw his statement; is that right?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Yes; they wanted me to withdraw the statement.

Mr. BLOOM. A British representative?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. A representative of a British paper.

Mr. BLOOM. That is different. Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. He represented the thinking of the English.

Mr. BLOOM. I would not want it to go out and have the world think that the British Government or any representative called the gentleman up.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. It was a British newspaperman from one of the big papers who represents the thinking and opinion of that country.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina. Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman made

the statement that in this lend-lease program there has been wanton waste. am wondering if the gentleman could give the House a bill of particulars and point out where this wanton waste occurred?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I do not think that would be very hard if the gentleman would just look around some of these ports where this equipment is piling up. How about the Canol project up in Canada or the Alaskan Highway? Would not the gentleman say that was wanton waste?

Mr. COOLEY. No; I do not agree with the gentleman at all.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BULWINKLE. May I say to the gentleman he forgets that at the time the Alaskan Highway was built no one knew what the Japs were going to do in Alaska.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I am not yielding for a speech.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Not for a speech, but in order to inform the gentleman as to both the oil project and the other.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Let me answer the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Cooley]. The gentleman heard the statement of Lindsay Warren, the Comptroller General, that \$50,000,-000,000 had been wasted in war contracts, cost-plus contracts. He comes from your State and served in this House. Is he wfrong?

Mr. COOLEY. Yes; I recall that statement.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Would the gentleman call that waste?

Mr. COOLEY. If the gentleman is conscious of any wanton waste of Federal funds, it is his duty to bring it to the attention of the Congress or some agency of the executive branch of the Government to the end that those wanton criminals may be brought to justice.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Did not Lindsay Warren point out that there was \$50,000,000,000 of waste?

Mr. COOLEY. He did not use the word "wanton," which implies something

evil.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, it is too bad at this late hour in the debate that this question should arise, but I cannot permit any statements to be made such as were made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] a few minutes ago. I hope he was wrong or did not intend them so but whether he did or not I must challenge his remark.

It is my purpose now, Mr. Chairman, to express my heartfelt resentment against the statement made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich], that the President of the United States does not have in the depth of his heart the welfare of America as does the leader of any other nation of the Allies or of any other country in the world. I say now, and I think I speak for everybody in the House on both sides of the aisle, perhaps with the exception of the gentleman himself, that nobody can question the patriotism of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the United States of America.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman for any purpose.

Mr. RICH. I was referring to the President of the United States as a spendthrift, that he did not know the value of a dollar and was not protecting the dollars of the American taxpayers. He never has and he never can and he never

Mr. FLOOD. That is probably the best autobiographical statement I have ever heard in the House. But the record of the President stands as an example of great leadership, patriotism, sacrifice and devotion to his country.

Mr. SAVAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amend-

ment.

Mr. Chairman, we are considering a serious and important bill here today and I feel it is worthy of a body like this to stick to the merits of the bill. I very much resent the remaks made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Just because the President is not with all the rich people all the time does not mean that he is not loyal to the United States. I think the American people have said four times that he is the most loyal American there is in this country. I certainly know that the millions that voted for President Roosevelt this time to carry on the war negotiations, and so on, voted for him because they have supreme confidence in the man's sincerity and loyalty to the people of America.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAVAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. I might call attention to history. George Washington underwent the same kind of attacks in his day. Lincoln, during the Civil War, underwent the same type of attack, not from the South but from the North, and from members of his own party in Congress. This shows that any strong President of our country, when the country is faced with a crisis, must undergo those types of attack. But history shows that the attackers are the ones who are lacking in that stability which is necessary to give the leadership to bring our country to success when a crisis confronts us.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. SAVAGE. I yield to the gentle-

man from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. May I say to the gentleman that I have no animosity toward the President of the United States in any sense of the word. It is only the things that he does and his record that I am attacking. The things he promised in 1932 and 1933 and from then on he has repudiated; he has not carried them out. Those are the things I object to. I do not want to object to the President as a man, but I object to the things that he does.

Mr. SAVAGE. I think it is fair to consider a man on his works and on what he does, and I am sure that is what the millions of people considered when they voted for President Roosevelt.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I call attention to the fact that the candidate of the Republican Party last fall took the position that no measure passed during the past 12 years would be repealed, and he did not take issue with the leadership of the President of the United States during this war.

Mr. SAVAGE. I noticed that in the campaign and was very happy that the American people were practically unanimous in their support of his leadership in bringing the war to a successful conclusion and the establishing of a permanent peace.

(Mr. KEE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last four words.

Mr. Chairman, this measure should be passed without modification or amendment other than that proposed by the committee.

On the 11th day of March 1941, the Congress of the United States, warned by the shadows of coming events, forged for the defense of this Nation the most effective weapon ever devised by the minds of man. This was not in any way a secret weapon, the character of which was to be shrouded in mystery and closely guarded lest it be divulged to our actual or potential enemies, nor was it a newly invented instrumentality of war designed for the destruction of armies on land and navies at sea. Nor was this weapon something in the nature of high-powered explosives, nor deadly guns, nor swifter planes, nor greater ships, nor other devices of death for the effective prosecution of war. Yet, though classed with none of the instrumentalities with which wars are actually waged. the weapon forged by Congress when it wrote into law the Lend-Lease Act has exceeded all the others in its deadly effectiveness and has been, and is today, the greatest contributing factor to our certain victory.

On that March day 4 years ago when the Congress first passed the act to promote the defense of the United States, to which there was almost immediately given the shorter, though less accurately descriptive title of "lend-lease." country was not at war. Coming events, however, were certainly casting their shadows-very dark and forbidding shadows-evidencing an ominous threat to our security.

This threat was not from one country nor one continent alone. In Europe the great war machine of a Nazi regime, that had been in the building for 20 years with a singleness of sinister purpose unparalled in history, had already rolled across the greater part of the continent and was moving onward with resistless force. So closely associated with the Nazi organization as to be an actual part of the machine and a contributor to its might, was Mussolini's new Roman Empire, sweeping on with the tide of conquest and aggression. At this same time the winds blowing toward us from across the Pacific were bringing not only whisperings of plot and counterplot in the land of Nippon, but were also bring-ing rumors of evil things in the minds of the sons of the Son of Heaven.

It was then, and because the organized and equipped forces of evil were sweeping steadily onward, overwhelming free lands and free peoples, bringing devastation, slavery, and death to the weak and helpless, regarding no right except that of might, drenching the earth with the blood of the helpless, seeking to destroy all freedom, justice, and liberty, endeavoring to erase from the world the last trace of democratic government and to substitute instead the dictatorship of a

superman born of a self-styled super race, that the Congress of the United States forged and put into immediate effect the weapon known as lend-lease.

By this act our national legislative body promised every endangered and freedom-loving nation throughout the world our aid and assistance in any effort undertaken to halt the onward march of the Axis powers. We recognized the fact that the maintenance of the sovereignty and the security of every other free nation in the world was necessary to the defense and maintenance of the security of the United States. We recognized the aims and the purposes of the Axis powers. The rapidly moving events throughout the eastern world as well as upon the continent of Europe indicated to us the grave danger of procrastination and delay. With no hesitancy our Government girded itself for a war that men of vision recognized to be inevitable.

Immediately following the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, this Nation moved in the accomplishment of its great purpose. What followed is not only a matter of history, but it is a record of accomplishment at which the world will wonder for untold generations to come. With a great, free people aroused to the danger and to the necessity of action, there was presented to the world a picture of democracy in action. The construction of our plants for the production of materials of war, the mobilization of our mighty army of workmen, the conversion of our factories into plants for the manufacture of munitions, the instant response of capital and labor to the demands of the crisis, the rapid and unprecedented change in the way of life of a peace-loving nation into an army of defense and the transformation of this lands of ours from a land of peace into a great arsenal to supply the entire world with the weapons necessary to save that world from devastation and ruin, has all been recorded in the most remarkable chapter in our history.

That these preparations, inaugurated by the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941, were indeed the part of wisdom was conclusively shown on December 7 of that same year when the treachery of the Japanese Nation not only drove this country of ours into conflict but plunged the peoples of the Far East, and indeed the entire world, into a total

It cannot be denied that if we were in any way prepared for the mighty conflict in which we were suddenly plunged on that December day in 1941, we owe that preparation to our lend-lease policy. The necessary changes we had been forced to make in our national economy by reason of our pledges under the Lend-Lease Act had already placed us in position to meet the new demands made upon our production capacity. It was only necessary for us to enlarge upon the plans we had already made and to double and redouble our efforts at production already commenced. As we look back over the fateful year of 1941, we tremble at the thought of what might have happened had we not initiated our efforts at the production of war materials immediately after the passage of

the Lend-Lease Act. We tremble at the thought of what might have occurred had we suddenly been plunged into war in the unprepared condition in which we found ourselves at the beginning of that year. Fortunate it was indeed that when the blow finally fell in December, many of our plants and factories all over the land had long been engaged in turning out munitions and materials necessary for the prosecution of the war. These materials were already moving, and for some time had been moving, in a steady stream across the seas to aid the nations who became our allies in the gallant and seemingly hopeless struggle in which they were engaged. Finding it suddenly necessary to equip our own armies with the instrumentalities of war, we were indeed fortunate to have the factories and plants already in production. Our indebtedness to our lend-lease policy for this fortunate state of preparation must indeed be recognized.

It is not necessary, I believe, for us on this occasion to attempt any detailed statement of the accomplishments of lend-lease during the past 4 years, but that it has been an effective instrumentality in the winning of a victory for the United Nations cannot be disputed. Those splendid men who have been in charge of the administration of lendlease during this time have constantly and fully reported their every act to this Congress. These-reports, with their extensive information, are available to every Member of the Congress and their examination will enable any inquiring person to find where every item of material has gone and where every dollar has been expended. These reports will, I believe, clearly indicate that the lendlease supplies furnished to our Russian ally enabled that stricken country to recover from its disaster, to turn upon the Nazi foe and to drive him back over the Russian lands he had devastated and dispoiled and to follow im to his lair across his own border. That lend-lease has been of equal if not greater aid to Great Britain is also a matter beyond question or dispute.

Its operations in the Middle East and the Mediterranean area has been proven to have been effective by attained results. It was lend-lease that made it possible, after our landing in Normandy, for the underground army of the French to come out of their holes and coverts bearing arms and ready to join in the fight. The story of lend-lease accomplishments in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia is not yet complete, but we do know that it will be an epic when published to the world.

It would serve no useful purpose to further detail the accomplishments of this policy of mutual aid inaugurated by the passage of this act and pursued under successive extensions. Reciprocal or reverse lend-lease has been a feature of the act in operation that has been of tremendous importance to the war effort of the Allies in all theaters of action. Evidence before our Foreign Affairs Committee has failed to disclose a single case where supplies available to any of our allies and needed by our forces have

failed of delivery to us on request under reciprocal lend-lease.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that further discussion of the resolution for the extension of lend-lease for another year is entirely unnecessary. The extension of this act and a continuation of the program is, I am fully convinced, necessary to an early and a complete victory. Lend-lease has already carried us far toward our goal—a goal that I believe will be reached with this, the third extension of the act. Your committee is for this measure, your fighting forces are for it, the American people approve it. Let us pass the measure today and speed the ending of the terrible conflict in which we are now engaged.

Mr. BUFFETT: Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment which is at the Clerks desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Buffett: On page 1, line 8, of the committee amendment, after the words "reconstruction", insert "or other purposes."

(Mr. BUFFETT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, that is on page 2, line 13, of the complete bill. I understand from the Parliamentarian that the proper designation is page 1, line 8. Mr. Chairman, may I read for the information of the Committee the language of this particular part of the bill as it would read:

Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, post-war reconstruction, or other purposes, except—

And then the bill would go on from there.

I rise to offer an amendment to this bill with considerable hesitation because I do not pose as an expert on foreign affairs. But I think there is one thing the House should have learned in the last few years, and that is it should spell out its purposes in legislation. A few moments ago I asked a member of the committee whether this would bar the President from arranging for an oil refinery in China. He said, "Oh, yes, it would, because that would be post-war rehabilitation."

Webster's Dictionary defines "rehabilitate" as meaning "to restore something to its previous condition." Therefore, an oil refinery would not come under this There are many other types of expenditure that would not be banned under this amendment as it is now written. I think this Committee should write this bill in clear terms and spell out the intention of Congress. Post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, and post-war construction are subject to various interpretations. They do not cover the field of possible activity. It is only by adding a clause that will cover the field that the amendment will stop lend-lease with the end of the war. I hope that this Committee will adopt this amendment and strengthen the bill so that Congress will be limiting lend-lease to the war period. Unless we do so, this socalled Republican amendment is not much more than a pious hope.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The insertion by the gentleman of the words "or other purposes" would prohibit any further contracts or agreements under lend-lease whatsoever. That is, if it is for post-war relief or post-war rehabilitation or post-war reconstruction, or for any other purpose it would bar war contracts. I know the gentleman does not intend his amendment to have that effect. May I say I had considerable to do with the drafting of this amendment. I spent hours in consultation with the able counsel for Mr. Crowley in the F. E. A., Mr. Davidson. We thought over and argued over each and every word of the amendment The words used, "postwar relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruc-' are words used in various statutes and documents and clearly define the class of contracts which the Congress does not want to have lend-lease enter into. The statement from our committee, the speeches here today, show what is intended by our committee.

On the other hand, it is not the purpose of this amendment to bar specifically military contracts and agreements which are the very purpose of lend-lease. So that not only does the proposed amendment completely stop the operation of lend-lease agreements of any kind for any purpose, but I know of no way to doctor up this amendment to express any more accurately or precisely than the words already used the purpose which the Congress has in mind and which the minority had in mind when they filed their minority report.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I want to endorse what the gentleman from Ohio has said with reference to the fact that the amendment, if adopted, would nullify the bill entirely. Furthermore, to say what the gentleman has said is correct, that the language of this amendment has been considered word by word, syllable by syllable, and sentence by sentence, and it underwent the searching scrutiny of the entire committee and the experts of whom the gentleman speaks. I think it meets the will of the unanimous consent of the Foreign Affairs Committee and I do not believe it could be improved upon.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I may be overanxious, but the minority having originally suggested this, and the majority having adopted it, I am most anxious that it be adopted in the form which was given such careful scrutiny by both sides of our committee. I hope we will vote on the original amendment very promptly.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. We have held hearings for a month on this legislation and this amendment. The gentleman from Ohio and other gentlemen have spent hours in consultation and conference, trying to get some kind of an amendment that would be satisfactory to all cocerned. It would be very unfortunate if an amendment such as that offered by the

gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Buffett] should destroy the entire lend-lease legislation, practically. This amendment which is now before us is an amendment that has been considered by all the Members, and I hope the amendment to the amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield. Mr. CURTIS. I think the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Buffett] intends to say "other post-war purposes," which broadens the language already used in the amendment. It seems to me the committee ought to permit him by unanimous consent to modify his amendment and that they should then accept it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] has expired.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I want to answer the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, Major Bulwinkle, about the Jap threat to Alaska, the Aleutians, and Kiska. I may say there might have been some plausible reason for the Canol project at that particular time, but after that threat was removed and there was no further need for this project further expenditure and the development of a pipe line or a refinery up in the Canadian wilderness, we should have cut it out. written off our losses, called it a day, and brought back the thousands of troops and civilians, brought back the material and equipment, and saved the American taxpayers many millions of dollars.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GAVIN. I decline to yield at this

Several months ago I personally went to the War Department and as I had been advised that the Chiefs of Staff were the ones who approved the project and initiated the construction of a refinery, pipe line, highways, waterways, roads, airfields, and the development of the oil fields suggested the entire project be dropped. I said to the Acting Chief of Staff, "Now that the threat is removed and there is approximately \$20,000,000,-000 unexpended, why not call it a day, bring back the thousands of troops and civilians who were up there at that time because of the fact we have a manpower shortage and we have a material shortage, and we will feel that good judgment in the matter is being used." I said to him that we felt it was the duty of the Chiefs of Staff to fight the war and let the oil production to those who knew the business.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GAVIN. Not at this point.

I told him that if a group of oil men were to come in with a plan for fighting the war and lay it on the desk of the Chief of Staff they would be told to stay in the oil business and let the military men fight the war. So I felt that we in the oil business should be considered as knowing something about the oil business, and therefore they were intruding on territory that belonged to the petroleum life of the Nation-that therefore they should have gotten out and saved

the American taxpayers lots of money. But no. They are still going on; they are spending approximately a million dollars a month, even though the project is to be discontinued, and they have several hundred technical men of the petroleum industry who could be used back home—also much greatly needed oil The only equipment could be returned. reason I am bringing this to the attention of the House is that projects like this will not be carried on under any lend-lease program.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendposes" to read "other post-war pur-

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I merely want to say, in order not to take more time than necessary, that about the same arguments I made before might apply to an amendment which would be applicable to all post-war purposes. This new form would bar military agreements during the post-war period. While I do not object to changing the amendment I still think it open to substantially the same criticisms in its new form.

Mr. HENDRICKS. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I agree with what the gentleman from Ohio says. I do not think we should have than language in the amendment. It would have practically the same effect as the amendment before modification.

Does the gentleman from Ohio think this in any way hampers the execution of this lend-lease bill? As I understood the gentleman from Ohio he said it would have practically the same effect.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. It obviously would not have the wartime effect but it might have an effect upon the operation of lend-lease which is not intended; and while I do not object to the change, and while I believe that if the gentleman wants it-that way, we might as well modify it the way he wants to, yet without repeating what I have said, it is subject to the same objections against attempting to modify an amendment that received a great deal of attention in the committee and has been presented as an agreed-upon amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, the gentleman does not need to say that he does not object to the modification suggested to the gentleman's amendment; we object to the amendment as originally offered and to the modification.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. That is right. Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. As I understand. the gentleman from Ohio has no objection to the consent request; and I hope it is approved. The gentleman, however, is opposed to the original amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. The whole thing.

Mr. McCORMACK. So I hope the gentleman will be permitted to modify his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to modify his amendment to read "or other post-war purposes."

Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska to the committee amend-

The amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Rich: Insert a new section, as follows:

"Subsection (b) to section 3 is amended by striking out the period after the word 'Procedure' and insert the following: 'Provided however, That no final settlement shall be made by the President until the terms and conditions of such settlement have been submitted to the Congress of the United States and shall have been approved by the Congress: Provided, however, That all duties and obligations heretofore lawfully created and arising out of or in connection with all existing contracts or agreements shall in no manner whatsoever be impaired or vitiated by this act."

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, this is the same amendment that was offered by Mr. Schiffler, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee at that time a year ago. believe it is a wise thing to have this amendment as part of the pending bill.

It seems to me that the Congress and the President jointly should approve the consummation of these contracts with foreign countries and not leave it up to the President entirely.

I also call the attention of my colleague from Pennsylvania who was very much shocked awhile ago at the statements I made that represents some people in Pennsylvania who are followers of Mr. Roosevelt, and do everything he wants done, whereas I represent in Pennsylvania those people who are opposto the Roosevelt philosophy. I will give the gentleman the reasons why I am opposed to him.

Let me read from a letter written to Samuel B. Hill on July 5, 1935, in connection with the Guffey coal bill, and this is what the President said at that

Manifestly, no one is in a position to give assurance that the proposed act will with-stand constitutional tests, for the simple fact that you can get not 10 but 1.000 legal opinions on the subject. But the situation is so urgent and the benefits of the legislation so evident that all doubts should be resolved in favor of the bill, leaving to the courts, in an orderly fashion, the ultimate question of constitutionality. A decision by the Supreme Court relative to this measure would be helpful as indicating with increasing clarity, the constitutional limits within which this Government must operate. The proposed bill has been carefully drafted by employers and employees working cooperatively. opportunity should be given to the industry to attempt to work out some of its major problems. I hope your committee will not permit doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block the suggested legislation.

Mr. Chairman, the President of the United States has access to the best legal talent in this country of ours and he can determine the legality of any bill which he wants to have passed. He should do that before he suggests that the Congress pass a bill and then leave it up to the courts to determine the constitutionality.

As I said awhile ago it is on account of the things he has said and the things that he has done that I oppose him. I do not oppose the man himself, but the things he has done. The promises he has made and the ones he has repudiated.

Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to vote for the present bill unless the amendment I have offered is agreed to whereby we permit the Congress to approve the contracts which we are now about to consummate in the extension of the Lend-Lease Act. We should now make some arrangements with these nations in order that the interests of the United States will be properly looked after.

I hope the amendment I have offered will be adopted. When the boys come home they will want to know the how, when, and why of lease-lend and the power you gave the President.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman from Pennsylvaia has sald, this matter was presented to the House a year ago when we had the extension of this act up at that time. The amendment applies to the agreements, so-called, which will be made and must be made in what might be termed the clean-up period. When that time comes there will be littered over a wide portion on the face of the earth an infinite variety of utensils and matériel, to all of which we will have title. Remember we retain title to all airplanes we sent to Russia or to any other of our allies, to every machine tool or tank, to every truck, to every article of equipment. The list is legion. When the shooting stops it will be lined up at the roadsides, and in the rivers and creeks; some of it utterly worthless, worn out, good for nothing but junk. Others will be partially worn out. A few will still be good for use in the military service. These things are not expendable like food and gun powder.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not at this mo-

Mr. WHITE. What about ships?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Ships are not in this category. Ships are only chartered. The ship agreement is not covered in this bill at all. It is separate and distinct and has nothing to do with lend-lease.

Mr. Chairman, can you visualize the Congress of the United States trying to pass judgment on every single agreement for the picking up of all this junk and disposing of it? How could we ever find time? There are literally hundreds of thousands of articles. Would we send special committees traveling to India and Persia and China, to say nothing of Europe and north Africa and the Middle East? To check up as to whether or not the agreement proposed to be entered into for the disposition of this property

should arise, it would be a job far beyond the ability of the Congress. We simply do not have the time or the facilities for doing such a thing. I do not visualize the President of the United States doing it either. It will have to be done in the best way possible by those representatives of ours who have administered the lend-lease program in the several countries. For example, in Moscow, Russia, we have a very important mission there headed by military people who know down to the last details just what we turned over to Russia, where it is, and when the war is over they will know what kind of condition it is in and whether it can be sold for anything at all or whether some of it might better be shipped back to the United States. The same thing is true in Great Britain. The same thing is true in Australia and in India, and it will be true in China.

It strikes me from the practical standpoint that the men who have been on the ground all the time must be trusted to make these agreements for the salvaging, if there is any salvaging of all this property. To put such a burden on the Congress is to put a burden on them which is impossible to bear. The 3-year clean-up period, Mr. Chairman, would not be enough under such circumstances.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have taken little or no time of the House on this matter, and I hesitate to do so now. But I was intrigued by the words of the last speaker, who said such lend-lease participation would place such a tremendous burden on the Congress. The people of this country think that the Congress has already cast too much of its burden on the Chief Executive. They want Congress to regain its power rather than to delegate more to the executive branch.

I am not thoroughly in accord with the amendment, but I think the purpose of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich], as I understand, does not direct the Congress to go into all of the meticulous work of accounting with reference to all of the different pieces of salvage, but just in the event that there might be a billion dollars worth of food and oil and gasoline, and so forth, in France at the end of this war, that possibly we should not give that away through the Executive or some of the people he has over there representing him-or should I say There was something like \$2,000.-000,000 worth left at the end of the last war. There will be billions in American supplies—our property. Congress, in the last analysis, should be allowed to join with the President in its distribution. I think the purpose of the amendment is to throw some safeguard around the final settling up of this matter. It is a matter of approval.

I remember a year or so ago, when we were debating this, there was a very strong vote that, in the last analysis, approval of the disposition of what belonged to the United States that was overseas the Congress was to be taken into account, but we were defeated in that.

I think the division of opinion in this Congress on this bill and some other bills is that there are some of us who are a little more economy minded. The question is, Shall we give and give of our manpower as we have, spend and spend as we have, and give of the natural resources of this country toward winning the war or in the defense of this country, as has been stated in the debate here today? Shall we continue such a policy to the point that we will have sold out the cpportunity of the men who are fortunate enough to come back after this war is over, and have we properly represented our constituents?

It has been said in the debate that this country does business in a big way. I think we have probably been overbenevolent ever since we went into this war. I think that when we were called upon the other day to raise the national debt limit of this country to \$300,000,-000,000, that is proof that we have done a very large part, maybe done more than our part, maybe done more than we should have done to win this war. all want to win it as quickly as possible. but we should like to win it in such a way as to preserve the most we can for this country and for the opportunity of the fighting men when they come back and for the people of this country who are living here now and buying bonds and paying for the prosecution of the war.

Have we, the Congress of the United States, become so benevolent that we have lost sight of the interests of the people we represent? The question that comes to my mind day after day as I sit on the floor of this House is, Are we properly safeguarding the interests of our people, the people who have hired and elected us to come here to represent them?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Clark, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, pursuant to House Resolution 178, reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were-yeas 354, nays 28, not voting 50, as follows:

# [Roll No. 38]

YEAS-354 Dovle Kee Keefe Kefauver Abernethy Adams Allen, Ill. Drewry Durham Kelley, Pa. Kelly, Ill. Earthman Andersen, Eberharter H. Carl Ellsworth Anderson. Kerr N. Mex. Andresen, Kilburn Kilday Elston Engel, Mich. Engle, Calif. August H.
Andrews, Ala. King Kinzer Ervin Fallon Andrews, N. Y. Kirwan Kopplemann Angell Arends Arnold Feighan Fellows Kunkel LaFollette Auchincloss Fenton Landis Bailey Baldwin, Md. Baldwin, N. Y. Lane Fernandez Larcade Fisher Flannagan Latham Barden Barrett, Pa. Bates, Ky. Flood Lea LeFevre Fogarty Folger Lemke Lesinski Lewis Forand Beckworth Fulton Gamble Link Ludlow Bender Gathings Bennet, N. Y. Bennett, Mo. Gavin Gearhart Lynch McConnell Geelan Gerlach Biemiller McCormack Bishop McCowen McDonough Blackney Gibson McGehee McGlinchey Bland Gifford Bloom Gillespie McGregor McMillan, S. C. Bolton Gillette Bonner Gillie Boykin Bradley, Pa. Goodwin McMillen, Ill. Gerdon Mahon Gore Gorski Brehm Maloney Manasco Brooks Brown, Ga. Brown, Ohlo Graham Granahan Mansfield, Mont. Mansfield, Tex. Marcantonio Granger Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Brumbaugh Bryson Martin, Iowa Martin, Mass. Buck Buckley Green Bulwinkle Gregory Griffiths Mason Bunker Merrow Burch Gross Michener Gwinn, N. Y. Burgin Butler Miller, Calif. Gwynne, Iowa Hale Mills Monroney Byrne, N. Y. Camp Hall Morrison Campbell Canfield Edwin Arthur Mundt Hall, Murdoo Murdock Cannon, Fla. Cannon, Mo. Leonard W. Halleck Murphy Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis. Carlson Carnahan Hancock Hare Neelv Case, N. J. Case, S. Dak. Harless, Ariz. Harness, Ind. Norrell Norton O'Brien, Ill. O'Brien, Mich. Celler Harris Hart Hartley Chapman O'Neal Chelf Chenoweth Havenner Outland Chiperfield Havs Pace Church Patterson Peterson, Fla. Hébert Clark Hedrick Heffernan Clements Cochran Peterson, Ga. Coffee Cole, Kans. Cole, Mo. Cole, N. Y. Hendricks Phillips Henry Pickett Herter Heselton Pittenger Ploeser Colmer Cooley Hess Hill Plumley Poage Powers Price, Fla. Price, Ill. Priest Hinshaw Cooper Corbett Hoch Hoeven Holifield Courtney Cox Cravens Crosser Holmes, Mass. Holmes, Wash. Quinn, N. Y. Rabaut Cunningham
Curtis
D'Alesandro
Daughton, Va. Hook Rabin Hope Rains Horan Ramey Ramspeck Randolph Davis Huber De Lacy Hull Jackson Delaney,
James J.
Delaney,
John J.
Dickstein Rayfiel Jarman Jenkins Reece, Tenn. Reed, Ill. Jensen Rees, Johnson, Calif. Resa Johnson, Ind. Richa Rees, Kans. Dingell Dolliver Richards Riley Rivers Robertson, Johnson, Luther A. Johnson, Okla. Domengeaux Dondero Doughton, N. C. Jonkman Douglas, Calif, Judd Douglas, Ill. Kean N. Dak. Robertson, Va. Rodgers, Pa. Roe, Md. Roe, N. Y. Rogers, Fla. Rogers, Mass. Rogers, N. Y. Rooney Rowar Russell Ryter Sabath Sadowski Sasscer Savage Schwabe, Mo. Schwabe, Mo.
Sharp
Sheridan
Simpson, Ill.
Smith, Va.
Smith, Wis.
Snyder
Somers, N. Y. Sparkman

Voorhis, Calif. Vorys, Ohio Wadsworth Walter Spence Springer Stefan Stevenson Stigler Wasielewski Stockman Weaver Weichel Weich Sullivan Sumners, Tex. Whitten Whittington Sundstrom Taber Wickersham Wigglesworth Talle Wilson Winstead Tarver Thom Thomas, N. J. Thomas, Tex. Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa. Wolverton, N. J. Woodhouse Woodrum, Va. Thomason Tibbott Tolan Torrens Woiley Towe Trimble Zimmerman Vinson

### NAYS-28

Knutson Shafer Barrett, Wyo. Bradley, Mich. Miller, Nebr. O'Hara Short Smith, Ohio Buffett O Kenski Reed, N. Y. Sumner, Ill. Crawford Rich Rizley Dworshak White Ellis Robsion, Ky. Schwabe, Okla. Woodruff, Mich. Hoffnian Johnson, Ill. Scrivner

### NOT VOTING-50

Anderson, Calif. Heidinger Barry Hobbs Pfeifer Izac Philbin Bates, Mass. Boren Jennings Powell Robinson, Utah Byrnes, Wis. Johnson, Sheppard Sikes Lyndon B. Clason Kearney Combs Simpson, Pa. Slaughter Smith, Maine Curley Dawson Lanham LeCompte Dirksen Luce Lyle McKenzie Starkey Eaton Fuller Stewart Gallagher Madden Taylor May Morgan Traynor Weiss Gardner Gossett Hagen Mott West O'Toole Hand

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

General pairs:

Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Taylor. Mr. Sheppard with Mrs. Smith of Maine. Mr. Barry with Mr. Clason. Mr. Madden with Mrs. Luce. Mr. Curley with Mr. Hagen. Mr. Pfeifer with Mr. Dirksen.

Mr. Lanham with Mr. Anderson of California.

Mr. May with Mr. LeCompte.

Mr. Philbin with Mr. Eaton. Mr. O'Toole with Mr. Jennings. Mr. Slaughter with Mr. Fuller. Mr. McKenzie with Mr. Kearney.

Mr. Powell with Mr. Simpson of Pennsyl-

Mr. Weiss with Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin. Mr. Izac with Mr. Heidinger.

Mr. Johnson of Illinois changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Rockwell

Mr. BATES of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 175 and House Resolution 178 both made in order the consideration of the bill H. R. 2013, which has just been passed. I ask unanimous consent that House Resolution 175 be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

# POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the institution by the House 3 years ago of the custom of observing Polish Constitution Day calls for a similar observance on Wednesday, May 3, of this year. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that 1 hour be set aside on that day for that purpose, to be controlled by me or to be allotted to Members on both sides of the aisle

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

# COMMITTEE ON LABOR

Mr. JOHN J. DELANEY, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 45), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor, acting as a whole or by subcommittee or sub-committees appointed by the chairman of said committee, is authorized and directed (1) to conduct thorough studies and investi-(1) to conduct thorough studies and investigation of the extent and character of aid now given by the Federal, State, and local governments and private agencies to the physically handicapped, (2) to study and investigate the diffusion within the United States of such aid to the physically handicapped, (3) employment opportunities for the physically handicapped, and all other the physically handicapped, and all other questions in relation thereto which would aid the Congress in any necessary remedial

legislation.

The said committee or any subcommittee is authorized to obtain and use for statistical purposes only confidential information (1) from the record of the Selective Service System, (2) records from the War Manpower Commission, and (3) from the records of the Bureau of the Census subject to the restriction.

25, section 11 (U.S. C. 13: 211).

For the purposes of this resolution, the said committee or any subcommittee thereof is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books or papers or documents or vouchers by subpena or otherwise, and to take such tes-timony and records as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or by any person designated by him, and shall be served by such person or persons as the chairman of the committee or subcommittee may designate. The chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses

That the said committee shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) during the pres-ent Congress the results of their studies, inquiries, and investigations with such recommendations for legislation or otherwise as the committee deems desirable.

INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS OF PROGRESS OF THE WAR EFFORT

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 154, Rept. No. 332)

remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the Tulsa Tribune of March 8, 1945.

Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix and include a letter from T. H. Hammett, dated March

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole and to include certain excerpts.

Mr. SHAFER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a radio broadcast.

Mr. WEICHEL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD with reference to the lend-lease bill.

Mr. GOODWIN asked and was given permisison to extend his remarks and include resolutions recently passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts on the hav situation.

Mr. O'KONSKI asked and was given permisison to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and include a letter from the United States Department of Agriculturé.

Mr. HOPE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

### LEND-LEASE

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, with the indulgence of the others who have special orders, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one-half minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I did not vote for the legislation which passed the House just now, the lend-lease bill. I am opposed to the principles embodied in this form of lend-lease legislation. However, I am in favor of making available to our allies all manufacturing facilities in this country and unlimited credit. I am opposed to and voted against the lend-lease bill because of the give-away principle involved. In this war we are carrying the heavy end and financing this war up to the hilt. I do not feel we should make donations of manufactured products to the people who are engaged in war without them being obligated to repay us for those supplies.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Idaho has expired.

HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY, REPRESENTA-TIVE-ELECT FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication which was read by the Clerk:

MARCH 12, 1945.

The honorable the SPEAKER, House of Representatives.

Sir: The certificate of election in due form of law of Hon. J. VAUGHAN GARY, as a Representative-elect to the Seventy-hinth Congress from the Third Congressional District of the State of Virginia, to fill a vacancy in that district, is on file in this office.

Very truly yours,
South Trimble, Clerk of the House of Representatives,

MALADMINISTRATION BY O. P. A. BLAMED FOR MEAT SHORTAGE IN NEW ORLEANS AND BATON ROUGE, WHICH IS IN DES-PERATE SHAPE

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER: Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, the meat situation in Baton Rouge, the capitol of Louisiana, and New Orleans, is in a most critical condition. For more than 2 weeks the situation has been growing worse, until now it is intolerable.

The entire blame for this is placed on the O. P. A., and apparently from the blundering and confusion the situation

is growing worse hourly.

The two meat-packing plants in New Orleans have closed and the slaughterhouse in Baton Rouge is operating on such a limited basis that little relief is in sight for the thousands of war workers at the capital city. Both New Orleans and Baton Rouge are vital warplant areas, and thousands of people have found the meat markets closed and no meat for days.

According to the local press in both cities, the entire blame is placed on the chaotic regulations of the O. P. A.

Harold Hall, of the O. P. A. in Dallas, Tex., came to New Orleans several days ago to make a study of the situation, but the butchers and the people feel that now is the time for more action with less study. Frantic appeals have ben made to Chester Bowles, O. P. A. Administra-tor, here in Washington during the past week, with no results.

There is meat in the pens with hundreds of head of live cattle in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, but none has reached the majority of the butcher

shops and meat markets.

Fred Dykhuizen of the Louisiana Meat Packers and Processors' Association blamed O. P. A. for giving control of the meat industry to the big 10 national meat packers by so fixing the regulations that the small local meat packers were put out of business. The big ten packers cannot and will not take care of the needs of Louisiana.

Mr. Dykhuizen said further:

This was unquestionably a squeeze play by the big meat packers to eliminate the small slaughterers throughout the country. I saw this situation developing more than 2 weeks ago, and called attention to the O. P. A

Mayor Robert S. Maestri, of New Orleans, is so concerned about the critical meat situation in New Orleans that he stated to the press that he would be glad to go to Washington to do anything possibly to relieve the situation.

Officials of the city of Baton Rouge are deeply concerned and have been conferring with O. P. A. officials and the various groups of meat producers and market owners.

If Chester Bowles would get busy and untangle the chaotic mess that his departments have placed the O. P. A. in. while trying to aid certain interests, instead of removing Congressmen from meetings which vitally affect their constituents, I believe that the people of Baton Rouge and New Orleans would have an adequate meat supply.

The cattle are there on the hoof, but apparently the O. P. A. is the bootleneck that keeps the cattle from getting into

the markets.

Mr. Bowles, this unnecessary meat shortage is in your lap. It is time for you to act and act promptly.

(Mr. MORRISON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

# PAN-AMERICAN DAY

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to the resolution passed last week setting aside April 14, which is Saturday, for the celebration of Pan-American Day.

April 14 was designated as Pan-American Day in 1930, by proclamations of the presidents of the American republics, the day having been selected because it was the date of the birth of the Pan-American Union. Since that time the day has been celebrated in various ways in the American countries. In some countries it is celebrated in the schools, in some in the parliaments, and in others in other ways. Last year the Chamber of Deputies of Chile indulged in a very gala celebration to which the president of that chamber invited two Members of each American House of Representatives or Chambers of Deputies. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHIPERFIELD] and I had the pleasure and honor of representing this body at that time. As was stated here several weeks ago, on the following day a committee was formed consisting of the chairmen of the delegations from each country for the purpose of creating and continuing the spirit of Pan-American unity. You will recall that the lidea was unanimously approved by this body several weeks ago. The setting aside of this day is the first functioning of the United States member of that committee.

You will doubtless recall that the resolution stipulates that no other business except that germane to such an occasion shall occur at that time. The only business to be considered will be a fitting resolution and remarks of Members who may desire to discuss Pan-American Day Pan Americanism, Pan-American unity, and so forth.

I wish at this time to extend a cordial invitation to every Member of the House to be present to speak on that subject if he or she desires or to extend his or her remarks in the Record on that occasion.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield.

which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed.

Resolved, That the Committee on Naval Affairs, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized and directed to conduct thorough studies and investigations of the progress of the war effort insofar as it relates to matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee, with a view to determining whether such effort is being carried forward efficiently, expeditiously, and economically. The Committee on Naval Affairs shall re-

The Committee on Naval Affairs shall report to the House during the present Congress the results of its studies and investigations, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems desirable.

For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places whether or not the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents by subpena or otherwise, and to take testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee and shall be served by any person designated by such chairman. The chairman or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses.

SEC. 2. The heads of the various executive departments and agencies are hereby requested to detail to such committee such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as such committee may from time to time deem necessary, or, in case such detail is not authorized by law, to grant leave of absence without pay to personnel who may request such leave to serve with such committee, without prejudice to any rights or privileges to which such personnel would be entitled if such leave had not been granted.

INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE AUTHORIZED BY HOUSE RESOLUTION 290, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 155, Rept. No. 331), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed.

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is authorized, as a committee, by subcommittee, or otherwise, to continue during the present Congress the investigation begun under authority of House Resolution 290 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, and continued by House Resolution 15, House Resolution 188, and House Resolution 383 of the Seventy-seventh Congress and by House Resolution 58 of the Seventy-eighth Congress, and for such purposes such committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon such committee by House Resolution 290 of the Seventy-sixth Congress. Any unexpended balance of the appropriation authorized for the use of such committee under House Resolution 385 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, and under House Resolution 58 of the Seventy-eighth Congress, is hereby continued for such purposes.

# AUTHORIZATION OF CIVILIAN MANPOWER

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 183, Rept. No. 330), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the bill H. R. 1752, to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto be, and the same hereby is, taken from the Speaker's table to the end that all Senate amendments

be, and the same are, disagreed to and a conference is requested with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

STUDY BY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS UNDER AUTHORITY OF HOUSE RESOLU-TION 281, SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

Mr. CLARK, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 96, Rept. No. 329), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Public Lands is authorized to continue the study of the problems in connection with the public lands of the United States begun under authority of House Resolution 281 of the Seventy-eighth Congress and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 281 of the Seventy-eighth Congress and such authority shall continue through the Seventy-ninth Congress.

# TO SAFEGUARD ADMISSION OF EVIDENCE IN CERTAIN CASES

Mr. CLARK, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 182, Rept. No. 328), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve iteself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 43) to safeguard the admission of evidence in certain cases. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed 1 hour to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same back to the House with such amendments as shall have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of business on the Speaker's desk and special orders heretofore entered I be permitted to address the House tomorrow for 20 minutes regarding the Mexican Treaty.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made this afternoon to include certain excerpts and a report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, THE JUDICIARY AND FEDERAL LOAN AGENCY APPROPRIATIONS, 1946

Mr. RABAUT from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill (H. R. 2603, Rept. No. 333) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Judiciary, and the Federal Loan Agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, which was read a first and second time, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Union Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. STEFAN reserved all points of order on the bill.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and include therein a letter received by him from Mr. Edward A. O'Neil, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. KEOGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD by including an editorial which appeared in the Passenger Transport.

Mr. MONRONEY asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial from the Washington Post of March 7, 1945.

Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record in four instances; first, to include a resolution; second, to include an editorial from the Chelsea Record; third, to include another editorial from the same paper; and, fourth, to include a letter.

Mr. EARTHMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record and to include an editorial from the Fort Lauderdale Daily News.

Mr. DE LACY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks on the subject of housing and include therein two telegrams and to extend his remarks on the Bretton Woods Conference and include therein a pamphlet setting forth the attitude of large sections of organized labor on that subject.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. KOPPLEMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Friday of this week, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and the conclusion of special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes on the question of a durable peace.

of a durable peace.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WALTER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and insert an address delivered by Assistant Secretary Hensel.

Mr. RABAUT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter from Arthur G. Sherman.

Mr. LEWIS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix and include excerpts from a speech by Strickland Gillilan.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and include a colloquy with Bob Evans, Columbia Broadcasting System news commentator.

Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma asked and was given permission to extend his

referred to the Committee on Commerce, and

appears under a separate heading.)
(Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado introduced Senate bill 738, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and appears under a sep-

arate heading.)

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 739. A bill to amend the law relating to embezzlement by officers of a carrier firm, association, or corporation engaged in commerce; and

S. 740, A bill to amend the Judicial Code with respect to the admission of attorneys at law to practice before the courts, depart-ments, and offices of the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 741. A bill to extend certain benefits provided under the Servicemen's Readjust-ment Act of 1944 to persons who served in the

merchant marine; and

S. 742. A bill to amend section 104 of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 so as to provide for determination of claims for benefits under the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration with respect to persons discharged from the armed forces, prior to the granting of such discharge; to the Committee on Finance.

# SAVANNAH VALLEY AUTHORITY

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent on behalf of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] and myself, to introduce a bill establishing a Savannah River Authority. I ask that the bill be given the same committee assignment that the Senate eventually will give to the bill to create the Missouri Valley Authority.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 737) to establish a Savannah Valley Authority, to provide for unified water control and resource development in the basin of the Savannah River in the interest of the control and prevention of floods, the promotion of navigation, and the strengthening of the national defense, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Russell (for himself and Mr. MAYBANK), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

# PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HOUSE DOCUMENT NO. 657

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, in connection with the bill which has just been introduced by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] on behalf of himself and me, I ask unanimous consent that the Joint Committee on Printing be directed to print a sufficient number of copies of House Document No. 657, not to exceed the limit allowed. I make the request because there are no further copies of the document available.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request made by the Senator from South Carolina? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

# AMENDMENT OF SERVICEMEN'S READ-JUSTMENT ACT OF 1944

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill to amend the so-called G. I. bill, and ask for its appropriate reference. When-ever legislation is enacted affecting a great many persons we always find that sooner or later it needs amendment. Defects are brought to light. The bill I am introducing is for the purpose of correcting some of the defects which have come to light in the administration and the operations of the G. I. bill. I do not pretend, Mr. President, that the measure I am introducing cures satisfactorily the defects of the G. I. bill, if they be defects. but at least it opens up the issues. The committee which will have charge of this proposed legislation will hold hearings, at which the Veterans' Bureau, the veterans' organizations, the veterans themselves, and all other persons interested in the operations of the G. I. law will be given an opportunity to state their positions. From such hearings and consideration we hope that the G. I. law may be greatly improved.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill introduced by the Senator from Colorado will be received and

apppropriately referred.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 738) to amend title III, Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, introduced by Mr. Johnson of Colorado, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

## HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

# WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS-MACKILBERY H. WILLIAMS

On motion by Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, it was

Ordered, That leave be granted to withdraw from the files of the Senate the papers accompanying the bill (S. 3664, 76th Cong., 3d sess.) for the relief of Mackilbery H. Williams, no adverse report having been made

PROPOSED REPORT SHOWING AMOUNT AND LOCATION OF REAL PROPERTY OWNED BY THE UNITED STATES

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I have in my hand Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8, which was adopted by the Texas Legislature. The resolution sets forth reasons for desiring certain information with reference to the amount of land owned in the several States by the Federal Government. I have made inquiry with reference to how such information might be obtained. It seems apparent that the best way to obtain it is by submitting a resolution.

I ask unanimous consent that Senate Concurrent Resolution 8 of the Texas Legislature be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks, and that it be appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, under the rule, as follows:

# Concurrent Resolution 8

Whereas in the State of Texas there is owned and claimed by the Federal Government and its related agencies and/or corporations in existence through grant by the Federal Government, extended holdings in real property and other interests thereunder; and

Whereas the State of Texas does not have a complete knowledge of the ownership and holdings of property within the State of Texas by the Federal Government and its related agencies and/or corporations in existence through grant by the Federal Govern-

ment, and that the extent, location, and degree of said ownership is unknown to the

State of Texas; and
Whereas the laws of the State of Texas covering ownership of real estate and interests thereunder by the Federal Government and its related agencies and/or corporations in existence through grant by the Federal Government are inadequate to protect private property interests and the rights of the State of Texas; and

Whereas the Federal Government and its related agencies and/or corporations in existence through grant by the Federal Government as a property owner and holder of real estate and other interests thereunder in competition with private ownership of real estate is not a recognized scope of said agencies'

capacity; and

Whereas extended holdings of real estate and other interests thereunder by the Federal Government and its related agencies and/or corporations in existence through grant by the Federal Government; within the State of Texas beyond the scope of governmental necessity, creates an unfavorable tax and economic condition within the State of Texas and results in the said agencies usurping the rights of private ownership and private enterprise and takes from the State of Texas and other governmental agencies and subdivisions of the State of Texas con-siderable revenue that would ordinarily be derived from said property if owned by private enterprise; and

Whereas the magnitude of this problem is of great and far-reaching importance to the State of Texas: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of Texas (the House Representatives concurring), That the of Representatives concurring), That the Representatives in Congress from the State of Texas and the United States Senators from Texas be respectfully requested to have compiled for the Texas Legislature a list of all interests and ownership in real property and rights therein in the State of Texas held or claimed by the Federal Government and its related agencies, as well as by corporations in existence through grant by the Federal Government; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to each such Texas Representative in Congress and United States Senators from Texas with the request that the Texas delegation meet at the earliest time possible and take proper steps to obtain and compile this information for the Texas Legislature; and be

it further

Resolved, That in order for this information to be made available while the legislature is still in session, we respectfully request that such information be compiled and furnished by March 1, 1945.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I now ask unanimous consent to submit a resolution for proper reference.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 99), was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys,

Resolved. That the Attorney General is hereby requested to submit at the first practicable date a report showing the amount and location of all real property owned by the United States, in each of the several States, including price and values of each tract of land and also the price of improvements thereon.

FUNERAL EXPENSES OF THE LATE SENA-TOR MOSES, OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. LANGER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 100), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the financial clerk of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the

Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed by the Vice President in arranging for and attending the funeral of Hon. John Moses, late a Senator from the State of North Dakota, upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

PRINTING OF REPORT ENTITLED "POST-WAR TRAFFIC LEVELS"

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, the report, Post-war Traffic Levels, prepared by the Bureau of Transport Economics and Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission, brings together in a summary the very best opinion on post-war traffic levels and the estimates of the national income as it will bear on the revenues of common carriers. The purpose of the report is to present certain estimates of possible levels of traffic in the early post-war period for the chief transportation agencies, along with data which may be useful in the evaluation of these and other possible estimates.

Three possible national-income levels are presented for each of the post-war years, 1947, 1948 and 1949. The estimates represent the best-informed opinion there is on the subject and the material has been assembled and very

carefully checked.

In order to make this analysis of the possible or probable traffic levels for the different types of carriers in the post-war period and the effect those levels will have on the earnings of common carriers, it was necessary to construct estimates of national income based on various assumptions. Because of this fact the report has a twofold interest it is of interest to those concerned with transportation because of the traffic estimates it contains; secondly, it is of interest to nontransportation people who are interested in the national income in the post-war period. This no doubt explains in part the demand for this publication which I understand is one of the heaviest the Bureau of Transport Economics and Statistics has ever experienced.

In order to have this report printed, I ask unanimous consent to submit a resolution for reference to the Committee on Printing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and the resolution may be submitted.

The resolution (S. Res. 101), submitted by Mr. Wheeler, was referred to the Committee on Printing, as follows:

Resolved, That the report of the Bureau of Transport Economics and Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission, entitled "Post-War Traffic Levels," be printed, with Illustrations, as a Senate document.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1934) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the next amendment of the

committee passed over.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the item "Federal Public Housing Authority" it is pro-

posed to strike out, on page 50, line 4, after the word "agencies", the comma and the words "and expenditures by the Authority for such purpose shall be considered nonadministrative expenses."

ABANDONMENT OF THE CANOL PROJECT

Mr. MOORE. Mr. President, the War Department has recently announced that operation of that part of the Canol project embracing production of petroleum, the oil pipe line from Norman Wells to Whitehorse and the refinery at Whitehorse, will be discontinued by June 30, and that representatives of the United States and Canada will soon appraise the present value of the properties which Canada has an option to purchase. If Canada does not exercise the option, the property will be sold, according to the War Department, to any other bidder at not less than the appraised value.

Mr. President, the Canol project, exclusive of operation and maintenance, has cost the American taxpayer approximately \$134,000,000. The location and impracticability of the project are such that it has little, if any, present commercial value, certainly not more than a junk value less dismantling and transportation charges. I emphasize the cost of this project because it is clear that it will practically be a total loss. Operation charges recently reported by the Army of over \$4,180,000 for the last 6 months of 1944 have been far in excess of the total value of all production at the Whitehorse refinery since it com-

menced operation.

The War Department attempts to justify its bullheaded and arbitrary attitude in going ahead with this project over the advice of many oil companies and petroleum experts, and in the face of the recommendations of the Mead committee, by pointing out that the project has demonstrated oil can be conveyed by pipe line over long distances and refined in year-around operations in the Arctic climate. This knowledge, the Army says, will be of great value "if indicated large reservoirs of oil in Alaska or northwestern Canada materialize." In other words, we have learned how to fry fish if we catch any. The Army has spent \$134,000,000, plus operation and maintenance expenses totaling an additional \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000, to discover that with the expenditure of enough money some oil can be transported by pipe line and refined under Arctic conditions. The oil companies of this country probably have a hundred laboratories in which these experiments could have been made at insignificant costs. The attempted justification of this inexcusable waste of money is so silly and childlike that it becomes a pathetic example of a drowning man grasping for straws.

The Army's press release states that, based on the experience in December 1944 and January and February 1945, the average cost of production, exclusive of depreciation or interest on investment, was \$11.15 a barrel delivered at Whitehorse.

Mr. BREWSTER. Will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MOORE. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. The figure the Senator has just given does not take into

account the overhead on the capital investment or the loss incident to the abandonment, does it?

Mr. MOORE. Not at all; and, further, I am very sure the Army has no conception of what the cost will be, and very little concern.

The Army fails to point out that this means an average cost of \$11.15 a barrel not only for the gasoline produced but includes fuel oil and other cheap byproducts as well.

The purpose of the project was to produce high-octane aviation gasoline. To be honest about it, the Army must compute the cost in terms of high-octane gasoline produced. For the last half of 1944 less than 8,000 barrels of aviation gasoline and only about 185,000 barrels of ordinary motor fuel were refined. If the cost of this total production of gasoline is to be considered on the figures admitted by the Army, it will be found to be approximately \$23 a barrel, excluding the value of the crude oil consumed, or any allowance for amortization. If the crude consumed in the operation is charged to the refinery at \$1.50 a barrel, and allowing a 20-year amortization, it will boost the cost of gasoline produced for this period to more than \$42 a barrel.

It is difficult to understand why the Army refuses to meet the Canol issue honestly and frankly. If there is nothing in this deal to hide or cover up, why does the Army continue its effort to justify what everyone recognizes to be a mistake?

The Army says that the properties are to be offered to Canada under an option to buy at the present appraised value. In view of the incompetence displayed by the Army in connection with this project I seriously doubt the wisdom of permitting the Army to negotiate for the disposal of the property. When the Army ceases operation it becomes a part of our surplus war property and should be handled by the Surplus Property Board, which Congress has set up for such a purpose. I insist that the matter should be turned over to that agency for disposal. I have previously urged and I again take this opportunity to suggest that the Mead committee continue its investigation of the huge expenditures that have gone into the Canol project. The individuals responsible for this wanton waste of public moneys should be determined and held responsible for their acts. The exact nature and character of the deal the Army seems to have made with Canada should be carefully looked into. The construction contracts and the contractors on this project should be closely examined. The profits and fees growing out of these contracts and how these were dispersed should be scrutinized. The beneficiaries of this huge slush fund should be made known.

The plain facts are that Under Secretary of War Patterson and General Somervell have never had any experience in their business careers which would in any degree fit them to pass upon the practicability of such a project. These men could have had, and did have, the expert advice of the entire petroleum industry and other qualified experts which they refused to accept, and instead chose to accept the advice and counsel

# H. R. 2013

# IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 14 (legislative day, March 12), 1945 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

# AN ACT

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That subsection (c) of section 3 of an Act to promote the
- 4 defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,
- 5 as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1945"
- 6 wherever it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof
- 7 "June 30, 1946"; by striking out "July 1, 1948" and in-
- 8 serting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1949"; and by striking out
- 9 "July 1, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1946";
- 10 and subsection (b) of section 6 of such Act is amended by

1 striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof

2 "June 30, 1949".

1

3 Sec. 2. That subsection (c) of section 3 of such Act is

4 further amended by striking out the period after the word

5 "earlier", inserting a semicolon, and the following new

6 language: "Provided however, That nothing in section 3 (c)

7 shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into

8 or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign

9 government for postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation or

10 postwar reconstruction; except that a contract or agreement

11 entered into in accordance with this Act in which the United

12 States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense

13 articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution

14 of the present war and which provides for the disposition,

on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President,

16 of any such defense articles, services, or information after

17 the President determines they are no longer necessary for

18 use by such government in promoting the defense of the

19 United States shall not be deemed to be for postwar relief,

20 postwar rehabilitation or postwar reconstruction."

Passed the House of Representatives March 13, 1945.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.



# AN ACT

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

March 14 (legislative day, March 12), 1945

Read twice and referred to the Committee on

Foreign Relations

### OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Issued April 6, 1945, for actions of Thursday, April 5, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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### SENATE

- 1. LEND-LEASE. Foreign Relations Committee reported without amendment H.R.2013. to extend the Lend-Lease Act for 1 year (S.Rent. 178) (p. 3156).
- 2. WATER UTILIZATION. Continued debate on the Mexican Water Treaty (pp. 3160-80).
- 3. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT: Sen. Young, N. Dak., was elected to the Agriculture and Forestry Committee (p. 3156).
- 4. EGG PRICES./Received a Mass. Legislature resolution urging adjustment of eggprice ceilings in the New England area (pp 3156. 3190).
- 5. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Sen. McKellar, Tenn., inserted Chairman Gillette's (Surplus Property Board) letter favoring elimination of the Senate amendment to the Procurement Division's (Treasury) appropriation item which would prohibit Treasury from selling surplus property without the approval of the Surplus Property Board, and commending Procurement's disposal activities (5. 3156).
- 6. FULL-EMPLOYMENT BUDGET. Sen. Wagner, N.Y., spoke favoring S. 380, to provide for a full-employment budget, and inserted Leo Crowley's (FDIC) and Chester Bowles' (OPA) letters on this bill (pp. 3158-9).
- 7. PURCHASING. Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee reported without amendment H.R.2284, to eliminate the practice of paying fees or kick-backs in connection with Government contracts (S.Rept. 177)(p. 3156).
- 8. SEED PRODUCTION. Sen. Butler, Nebr., submitted amendments which he intends to propose to S. 558, to provide for adequate production of seed legumes required in the war food-production program by authorizing appropriations of \$15,000,000 for AAA payments on a harvested-acreage and a marketed clean-seed basis to producers of alfalfa, alsike clover, and medium and mammoth red clover (p. 3158).
- 9. MILITARY TRAINING. Received an American Legion resolution favoring universal military training (p. 3155).

10. EMPLOYMENT. Received a Mass. Legislature resolution favoring legislation for a Fair Employment Practices Commission (p. 3155).

### HOUSE

11. TRANSPORTATION. Rep. Hope, Kans., discussed the "shortage of transportation facilities" in relation to "food shortages" (pp. 3182-3).

Rep. Doyle, Calif., criticized "any <u>freight rate</u> or barrier...which seeks to choke...the normal flow of trade and commerce to and from California and •ther Western States," and inserted an editorial on the subject (pp. 3183-4).

Rep. Mundt, S. Dak., criticized the regulations which "permit the Federal Government to take over private business enterprises and then evade the payment of /State/ taxes" (p. 3184).

12. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 9 (p.3190).

### ITEMS · IN APPENDIX.

- 13. FULL-EMPLOYMENT BUDGET. Sen. Wagner, N.Y., inserted Rep. Hook's (Mich.) address favoring S. 380 and H.R. 2202, to provide full employment (pp. A1781-3);
- 14. ELECTRIFICATION; TAXATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Plumley, Vt., stating that no "additional tax burden" is necessary to supply the "demands" for rural electrification in Vermont, and including a Burlington (Vt.) Free Press article on this subject (pp. 1786-7).
- 15. CONGRESSIONAL ORGANIZATION. Rep. Priest, Tenn., inserted a Washington Post editorial commending the program of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress with respect to the attention to be given "to the relations of Congress to the electorate" (p. Al793).
- 16. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Keogh, N.Y., inserted three newspaper editorials supporting James A. Farley's statements on post-war economy and foreign trade (pp. A1793-1796).

### BILLS INTRODUCED

- 17. TRANSPORTATION. H.R. 2840, by Rep. Robinson, Utah, to amend sec. 6, of accessed roads, of the Defense Highway Act of 1941. To Roads Committee. (p. 3190.)
- 18. PUBLIC LANDS. H.R. 2852, by Rep. King, Calif., to create a Natural Resources
  Board. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3190.)
- 19. VETERANS. S. 826 and S. 827. (p. 3190.)

### BILL APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

20. DEBT LIMIT. H.R. 2404, increasing the debt limit to \$300,000,000,000 (including the face amount of obligations guaranteed as to principal and interest by the U.S.). Approved Apr. 3, 1945 (Public Law 29, 79th Cong.).

### COMMITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

21. FOREIGN TRADE; POST-WAR PLANNING. Pursuant to H.Res. 408 and H.Res. 60, creating a Post-War Economic Policy and Planning Committee. Pt. 4, problems of foreign trade and shipping.

By Mr. SALTONSTALL (for himself and Mr. WALSH):

Resolutions of the General Court of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

"Resolutions urging the Members of Congress from the New England States to confer with the Office of Price Administration with a view to quickly effecting an adjustment in the egg price ceilings in the New England area

"Whereas at the suggestion of the Governor, the General Court of Massachusetts on March 27, 1945, passed an act giving to him the powers he requested as being necessary to secure during the present poultry shortage a sufficient supply of poultry to meet the needs of hospitals in the care and treatment

of their patients; and
"Whereas the general court believes that
while such action is necessary to meet the present crisis, further action is necessary to stop certain unlawful practices in the sale and distribution of poultry which greatly aggravate the present shortage emergency;

"Whereas the general court cannot by itself remedy the fundamental causes of the existing emergency which was, in its belief, originally caused by the failure of the Office of Price Administration to recognize the pe-culiar conditions under which the New England poultry industry is forced to operate;

"Whereas the entire price structure as it applies to table eggs must be immediately revised upward in order to save what is left of the laying flocks now being rapidly liquidated in the New England area; and

"Whereas a continuation of the current conditions for even a short period of time will tend to completely wreck the New England poultry industry: Therefore be it "Resolved, That the General Court of Mas-

sachusetts urges the Members of Congress from each of the New England States to confer with the Office of Price Administration with a view to quickly effecting an adjustment in the egg price ceilings in the New England area, and to take promptly such other action as may be necessary to rectify such conditions; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the State secretary to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, to each of the Members of said Congress from each of the New England States, and to the Governor of each of said

New England States."

By Mr. WILSON (for himself and Mr. HICKENLOOPER)

A concurrent resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"House Concurrent Resolution 18

"Whereas it is important that peace of the allies be a just, firm, practical, and lasting

"Whereas the youth of our Nation has been tested physically, mentally, and morally

and found competent; and
"Whereas the youth of our Nation are
most concerned because of their age, the age of their families and the problems confronting them; and

Whereas in every war it is the youth who shoulder the arms and give their blood and lives, and know the horrors of war, the beach heads, pillboxes, and sacrifices; and "Whereas these men who have given so

much of their lives and time to our public welfare and have the interests of their country and the philosophy of our republican form of representative government at heart: Therefore be it

'Resolved by the house (the senate conrring), That the Fifty-first General Asof the State of Iowa respectfully requests that the Congress of the United States and the President of the United States, immediately take the necessary steps to provide for a qualified representation of the young men and women of the military forces of World War No. 2, who have seen active service on the foreign battlefields, to serve as members of the commission or delegation representing the United States of America at the peace table, and that they have an active voice in determining the peace policies of the world. The members of the armed forces have served us all, and we know would serve us well in really establishing a just and lasting peace; it is further

"Resolved. That the chief clerk of the house be instructed and authorized to send copies of this resolution to the Iowa Representatives and Senators in Congress and to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C."

APPROPRIATION FOR SURPLUS PROP-ERTY ACTIVITIES — LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN OF THE SURPLUS PROP-ERTY BOARD

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a letter from Hon. Guy M. Gillette, Chairman of the Surplus Property Board, dated April 2, 1945, in reference to certain testimony with respect to appropriations for the surplusproperty activities of the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

SURPLUS PROPERTY BOARD, Washington D. C., April 2, 1945.

Hon. KENNETH MCKELLAR,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: My attention has been called to the discussions on the floor of the Senate on March 30 with respect to the appropriation for the surplus property activities of the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department and the amendment thereto which was adopted by the Senate. It seems clear to me that the discussion leading up to the introduction and adoption of such amendment was in large part based upon an erroneous impression of statements made by me and reported in the public press. A newspaper account of what I said is quoted on page 3020 of the Congressional Record.

My comments were directed not at the Treasury Department or any other disposal agency but to the practice of owning agencies in disposing of surplus property withsurplus under the Surplus out declaring it Property Act of 1944. The Treasury Department is a disposal agency under the jurisdiction of the Surplus Property Board and its disposals of surplus property are subject to such regulation as the Surplus Property Board may impose under the Surplus Property Act of 1944. Under the act the Board not only designates the disposal agencies but has full power to adopt appropriate regulations governing their activities in such detail as the Board deems desirable. I refer specifically to sections 9 and 10 of the Surplus Property Act of 1944. As I see it, therefore, the Senate amendment to the Treasury De-partment's appropriation is not necessary, serves but to add confusion, and in my opinion should be eliminated.

I think that it is also appropriate for me to say that I believe much of the criticism of the surplus property activities of Treasury made on the floor of the Senate on March 30 is unwarranted. We agree with the statement made in the recent report of the Mead committee that in the disposal of surplus property the Procurement Division of the Treasury "is doing as good a job as can be expected under the circumstances. They have been forthright in admitting and attempting to correct their inevitable mistakes, and are intelligently attempting solve their problems."

If you have no objection, I would welcome the inclusion of this letter in the Concres-

SIONAL RECORD.

RECORD.

Very sincerely,

GUY M. GILLETTE,

Chair

Chairman.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. WILSON, from the Committee on Claims:

S. 392. A bill for the relief of Nebraska Wesleyan University; with amendments (Rept. No. 162).

By Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina,

from the Committee on Claims:

S. 176. A bill for the relief of the city of Memphis, Tenn., and Memphis Park Commission; without amendment (Rept. No. 163).

By Mr. WHERRY, from the Committee on

Claims:

H.R.1353. A bill for the relief of J. P. Harris; without amendment (Rept. No. 164). By Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on

H. R. 1396. A bill for the relief of Anne Loacker; without amendment (Rept. No.

By Mr. WILSON, from the Committee on Claims:

H.R. 990. A bill to provide for the reimbursement of certain civilian personnel for personal property lost as a result of the Japanese cccupation of Hong Kong and Manila; without amendment (Rept. No. 166):

By Mr. ELLENDER, from the Committee

on Claims:

S. 567. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Freda Gullikson; with amendments (Rept. No. 167):

H.R. 201. A bill for the relief of the Dempsey Industrial Furnace Corporation; without amendment (Rept. No. 168);

H. R. 202. A bill for the relief of Angelina Bourbeau; without amendment (Rept. No.

H. R. 206. A bill for the relief of St. Vincent's Infirmary and Dr. Alvin W. Strauss; without amendment (Rept. No. 170); H.R. 209. A bill for the relief of David B.

Smith; with an amendment (Rept. No. 171); H.R. 807. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Wilma Louise Townsend; without amendment (Rept. No. 172); H.R. 1079. A bill for the relief of Ray L.

Smith; without amendment (Rept. No. 173);

H.R. 1135. A bill for the relief of Gus A. Vance; without amendment (Rept. No. 174); H.R. 1707. A bill for the relief of Murray

W. Moran; with amendments (Rept. No. 175); and H. R. 1983. A bill for the relief of Benjamin

Lewis; with an amendment (Rept. No.

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments: H. R. 2284. A bill to eliminate the practice

by subcontractors, under cost-plus-a-fixedor cost-reimbursable contracts of the United States, of paying fees or kick-backs, or of granting gifts or gratuities to employa cost-plus-a-fixed-fee or cost reimbursable prime contractors or of higher tier subcontractors for the purpose of securing the award of subcontracts or orders; without amendment (Rept. No. 177).

By Mr. CONNALLY, from the Committee on

Foreign Relations:

H. R. 2013. A bill to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended; without amendment 1941, as amended; (Rept. No. 178);

S. Res. 109. Resolution making available an unexpended balance for entertaining distinguished visitors to the United States by the



United States
of America
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATE

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 79th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 91

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1945

No. 66

# Senate

(Legislative day of Friday, March 16, 1945)

The Senate met in executive session at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thou great Companion of the sons of men, daily Thou dost invite us to seek Thee, and every day Thou offerest Thyself to be found of us. We thank Thee that Thou hast so framed our hearts that our deepest instincts anchor us to Thee; that Thou hast so created everything that he who loves the truth can never miss Thee at the last.

Grant to us to dream great dreams and not to disobey the heavenly vision. And though the hope betimes seems forlorn may we be found ready to lead it. Without stumbling and without stain may we follow the gleam until the day is ended and our work is done. In the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, April 4, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker pro tempore had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 298) to continue Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, increase its borrowing power, revise the basis of the annual appraisal of its assets, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

### LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, as in legislative session, the following business was transacted:

### COMMITTEE SERVICE

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, as in legislative session I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the order which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the order.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] be assigned to service on the following committees: Agriculture and Forestry, the District of Columbia, Manufactures, and Immigration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the order is agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I wish to express my appreciation to the majority leader for the consideration he has shown in working out this arrangement.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator from Maine, and I am sure the new Senator from North Dakota will be a valuable addition to the committees to which he has been assigned and to the Senate

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

### PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

Letters from the Attorney General and the President of the United States Civil Service Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, estimates of personnel requirements for their respective offices for the quarter ending June 30, 1945 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

A letter from the Archlvist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and arequesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

### By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of New York; to the Committee on Finance;

"Whereas by the end of the war there will be approximately 15,000,000 men and women in the armed forces of our Nation and New York State's share will be approximately one and one-half million; and

"Whereas most of these men and women will have lost from 1 to 4 years, or even longer from the accumulation of benefits provided by the old-age and survivors' insurance; and

"Whereas this will effect a real loss in benefits to be received at the time of retirement lnasmuch as such benefits are dependent upon contribution by both employee and employer; and

"Whereas the old-age and survivors' insurance is wholly a Federal program; and

"Whereas it is the sense of the people of the State of New York manifested in their respective representatives in the legislature that the returning veteran justly deserves and is entitled to fair and generous treatment: Therefore be it

"Resolved (if the senate concur), That the Congress of the United States be and is hereby respectfully memorialized to enact with all convenient speed appropriate legislation providing that men and women in the armed forces shall receive appropriate wage credits on their old-age and survivors' insurance accounts for their period of military service; and it is further

"Resolved (if the senate concur), That copies of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of Congress duly elected from the State of New York, and that the latter be urged to do all in their power to accomplish the purposes of this resolution."

A resolution adopted by Post No. 28, the American Legion, of Spartanburg, S. C., favoring the enactment of legislation providing universal military training for the youth of the Nation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A resolution adopted by the Society of St. Peter, the Apostle, Bethlehem, Pa., favoring recognition of Italy as a full ally of the United Nations and that democratic representatives of Italy be invited to the San Francisco Conference; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Cambridge, Mass., favoring the enactment of legislation to create a Fair Employment Practices Commission; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Report No. 178

### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE ACT (H. R. 2013)

APRIL 5 (legislative day MARCH 16), 1945.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Connally, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 2013]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for a period of 1 year an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, having considered the same, report favorably thereon, without amendment, and

recommend that the bill be passed.

The bill amends subsection (c) of section 3 and subsection (b) of section 6 of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941 (Public Law 11, 77th Cong.), and amended March 11, 1943 (Public Law 9, 78th Cong.) and May 17, 1944 (Public Law 304, 78th Cong.), by extending each of the dates therein for 1 year so that these provisions will read as follows (the language proposed to be repealed is enclosed in black brackets and the amendatory language is in italics):

Subsection (c) of section 3:

After [Junc 30, 1945] June 30, 1946, or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before [June 30, 1945] June 30, 1946, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States, neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a); except that until [July 1, 1948] July 1, 1949, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before [July 1, 1945] July 1, 1946, or before the passage of such concurrent resolution, whichever is the earlier.

Subsection (b) of section 6:

All money and all property which is converted into moncy received under section 3 from any government shall, with the approval of the Director of the Budget, revert to the respective appropriation or appropriations out of which funds were expended with respect to the defense article or defense information for which such consideration is received, and shall be available for expenditure for the purpose for which such expended funds were appropriated by law, during

the fiscal year in which such funds are received and the ensuing fiscal year; but in no event shall any funds so received be available for expenditure after Lune 30, 1948 June 30, 1949.

The bill contains a new section which was inserted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and adopted by the House. The new section further amends section 3 (c) of the act by the addition of the following new language:

Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction. except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this Act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

### LEND-LEASE A WAR MEASURE

The purpose of the amendment to the Lend-Lease Act adopted by the House was to assure that lend-lease agreements would not be used for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction

purposes.

The committee, in reporting the bill with this new provision, is insistent that lend-lease be used solely as a war and defense measure. Lend-lease should be liquidated as promptly as possible after the war has ended within the period of time permitted by the act. In carrying out agreements with foreign governments under this provision all supplies delivered too late to be of use in the war must be paid for by the countries receiving them. Although there may well be some incidental post war benefit as a result of the lend-lease program, the committee recognizes it is necessary in view of the uncertain time of the war's end, that the war supply program must go forward vigorously to speed victory over the enemy and save American and Allied lives. At the same time, if a portion of the program under these agreements remains undelivered when hostilities cease, the burden should not fall on United States taxpayers. This provision accordingly assures both the continuation of a vigorous war effort and protection to American taxpayers.

In its consideration of this amendment, the committee inquired into the agreements which are presently outstanding or in prospect at

this time under the Lend-Lease Act.

In the discussions which were held with the British last fall, the requirements of the British Commonwealth for lend-lease aid for the prosecution of the war against Japan in the year following the cessation of hostilities in Europe were fully reviewed, and it was estimated that these requirements would be reduced more than 40 percent in comparison with the amount of lend-lease aid provided during 1944 to the British Commonwealth. The committee was informed that it was anticipated British armed forces and war industry would participate fully in the Pacific war. We were further advised that all of the supplies which are included in the program were for the prosecution of the war against Japan and that none of them would be used for reconversion or reconstruction purposes. The extent to which supplies under this program will actually be made available

will depend upon the strategic needs of the war as determined by our military authorities and the availability of the supplies in the light of competing United States military and civilian needs as determined

by our allocation agencies.

The basic purpose of the lend-lease agreement with France is to provide the supplies and services needed by France to mobilize and fully use her resources and manpower in the prosecution of the war. Eight French divisions and three hundred supporting units, aggregating in all some 225,000 men, in addition to a French air force of more than 15,000 men, equipped with lend-lease arms and other supplies, have crossed the Rhine and are now fighting into the heart of Germany. The Army and the Forcign Economic Administration have undertaken to furnish arms for an additional 8 French divisions.

Continental France is also an important base of allied military operations. French ports, transportation facilities, and war industries, through reverse lend-lease, are playing a vital role in support of our offensives. Tires, tents, and other war supplies are being produced by French factories and French manpower under reverse lend-lease, and with the help of lend-lease aid she can furnish a far greater volume of reverse lend-lease which can help to shorten the war.

The French agreement protects United States interests by determining some of the obligations of France in advance of the war's final conclusion. The French have agreed to pay for long-life supplies like locomotives and freight cars which may have some residual peacetime use. They have also agreed to pay for any supplies in the program which may be produced too late to be of use by the French in the war and which are not more urgently needed by this country for other purposes. Thus the agreement provides for an orderly and efficient liquidation of the agreed supply program, when the war actually does end, in a manner which helps to reduce our post-war surplus problem, our contract termination problem, and the waste of our materials and manpower. In addition, the agreement specifically reserves the right of the United States to withhold supplies whenever it is in our national interest to do so.

The committee was advised that similar agreements with the Netherlands and Belgium are contemplated.

### NECESSITY FOR CONTINUING LEND-LEASE

Lend-lease is an effective investment by the American people in a speedy and complete United Nations victory with the least cost in American and Allied lives. The worth of lend-lease as a weapon for victory is being demonstrated every day on the battle fronts all over the world. Both in the European and Pacific theaters of war, Allied armed forces equipped in varying degrees with lend-lease guns, planes, and other supplies are combined with our forces equipped in varying degrees with reverse lend-lease supplies in the battles against our common enemies.

Men, materials, and resources have been effectively pooled by the Allies in this war in a way which has no parallel in history. Lendlease has played its integral part in making this pooling possible and so effective. It has helped to knit into successful and smoothly

coordinated offensives the combined military strength and combined military strategy and combined military supply of the United Nations.

The extension of lend-lease at this time is essential to the continuation of this effective partnership. There has been no controversy with respect to the necessity for passing this bill. The House Foreign Affairs Committee conducted extensive hearings, continuing over a period of weeks, and made a full and complete record concerning lend-lease operations. This record was before this committee. In addition, the committee heard testimony from Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, and Oscar Cox, Deputy Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration.

The committee was greatly assisted in its consideration of the bill by various factual statements and charts presented to the members of the committee. The 18 detailed reports on lend-lease operations which have been submitted to the Congress pursuant to section 5 (b) of the Lend-Lease Act have also been of great assistance in appraising

the part played by lend-lease in the conduct of the war.

The facts brought before your committee indicate that it is more vital now than ever before to continue the Lend-Lease Act as an essential part of the combined Allied organization for waging war.

### IMPACT OF LEND-LEASE ON UNITED STATES SUPPLIES

Considerable detailed information was furnished to the committee concerning the extent to which lend-lease operations have been responsible for shortages of supplies for our own armed forces and civilians. The effect of lend-lease upon our available domestic supplies has been greatly overstated in numerous false rumors. Every possible safeguard has been set up to make certain that the productive resources of this country are used for the most effective prosecution of the war and that lend-lease and other supplies are allocated to our allies only after most careful consideration of the needs of our own armed forces and civilian population.

Planes, tanks, guns, and other finished munitions supplied by us to our allies under lend-lease constitute 58 percent of total lend-lease goods transferred. These lend-lease munitions have been equivalent to about 14 percent of the total United States production of munitions. Sales of munitions to our allies have amounted to about 2 percent of our production. Thus 84 percent of all our tremendously increased munitions production has been retained for use by our own armed

forces.

The proportion of our food production which we have lend-leased each year is as follows: 2 percent in 1941, 6 percent in 1942, 9 percent in 1943, and 8 percent in 1944. These figures do not take into account the tremendous quantities of food which our allies have supplied from their own resources to our armed forces under reverse lend-lease and which we would otherwise have had to supply from the United States.

Lend-lease exports of beef and veal in 1944 amounted to only seven-tenths of 1 percent of our supply. This amounts to 9 ounces per person per year in the United States. We have received under reverse lend-lease about three-fourths as much beef and veal as we have lend-leased. In other words, the net amount of beef and veal which went out under lend-lease in 1944 amounts to about a consumption of 2½ ounces per person per year in the United States.

Lend-lease exports of butter in 1944 amounted to 4 percent of our supply, and we have received under reverse lend-lease more than one-

third as much butter as we lend-leased.

The percentages of our supply of certain representative industrial materials which were shipped under lend-lease in 1944 are as follows; Lend-lease exports of iron and steel amounted to 4.6 percent of our supply; farm machinery, 3.7 percent; tires and tubes, 5.4 percent; cotton piece goods, 1.8 percent; lumber and lumber products, 2.5

percent; paper, 0.8 percent; pulp, 1.1 percent.

The great bulk of the requirements of our allies for these items is supplied from their own production. Lend-lease shipments help to meet the critical deficits in our allies' war production. Iron and steel and other metals shipped under lend-lease help our allies to make, in their own arsenals and factories, tanks, guns, planes, ammunition, and other war supplies which are in action every day against the same enemies that our own boys face. Lend-lease farm machinery, sent primarily to Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and north Africa, have enabled them greatly to increase their food production in order to help supply our forces under reverse lend-lease as well as other Allied forces and their own populations. Lend-lease tires and tubes are for Allied military equipment and essential war transport vehicles. Lendlease cotton piece goods are for Allied military personnel and essential war workers. Lend-lease lumber is used in the manufacture of airplanes such as the famous Mosquito bomber, for the repair of ships and bridges, and the manufacture of ammunition boxes and other essential war equipment. Lend-lease paper and wood pulp are required for a wide variety of military and essential war production and industrial uses which promote the effective prosecution of the common war effort.

### MUTUAL WAR AID-REVERSE LEND-LEASE

Our common cause and the progress of American arms are aided immeasurably by the gallant fighting of our allies as is their progress

to victory by our fighting.

In this war the United Nations have all drawn strength from each other—our allies from us, and we from them. The mutual war-aid programs of the United Nations are providing the weapons needed for victory on every front and on the production lines behind those fronts.

More than \$4,000,000,000 of vitally needed war supplies and serviees have been furnished by our allies to the United States and our armed forces under reverse lend-lease and without payment by us. The major share of reverse lend-lease aid we have received has come from the British Commonwealth. France, Belgium, and Holland, however, which are now in whole or in part liberated, are contributing to the United Nations war supply pool at a rapidly increasing rate, and we have already received vital supplies and services from these countries under reverse lend-lease.

In view of the comprehensive and up-to-date nature of the reports on reverse lend-lease operations contained in the printed record of the hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Reports to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations, it is not necessary to include in this report a detailed review of those

aetivities.

### CONCLUSION

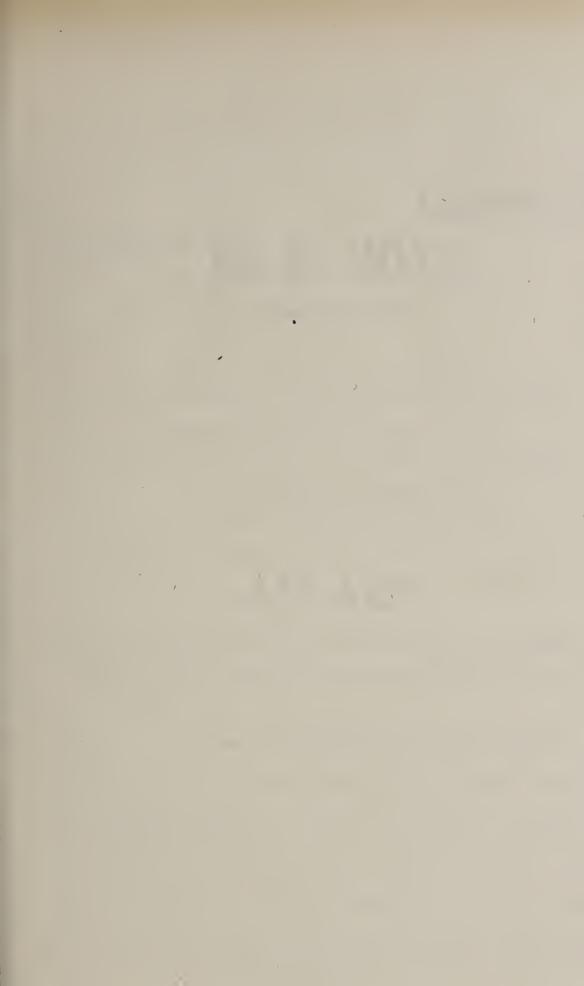
Lend-lease must be continued, through the extension of the Lend-Lease Act, until the final day of unconditional surrender by Germany

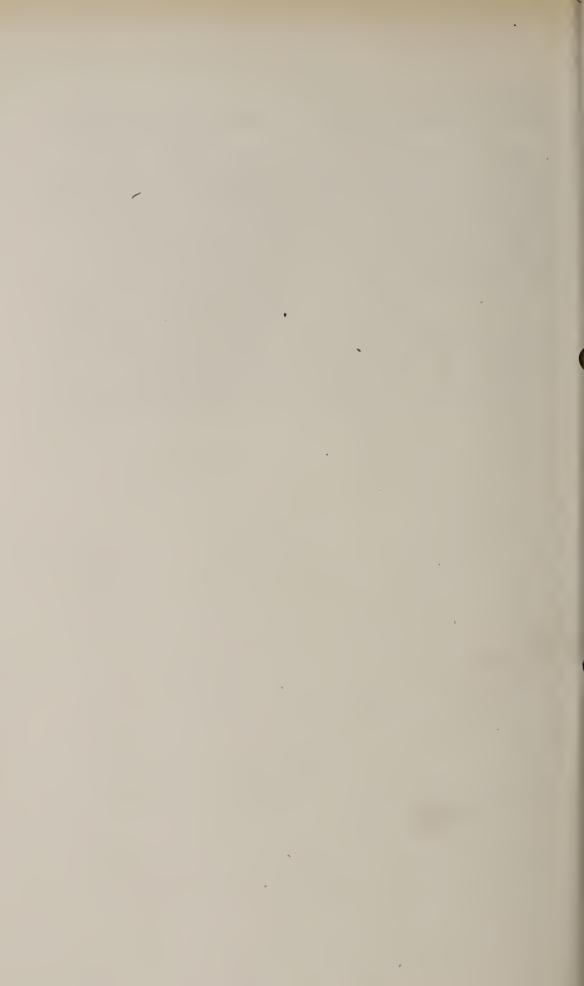
and Japan.

Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease have been the supply mechanism by which the full manpower and resources of the Allies have been successfully mobilized in gigantic and coordinated movements covering many vast theaters of combat all over the world. In Germany, the American and other Allied armies are hammering heavy blows from the west, south, and east, aimed at a knock-out of Nazi military power. In the Far East, although we have not yet engaged the main Japanese armies on the mainland of Japan and on the Chinese mainland, American and other Allied ground, naval, and air forces are engaged over thousands of miles of ocean and land in an accelerated and increasingly successful combined fight against a fanatic enemy.

As Secretary Stimson observed, "We are at the crisis of the war, but we are not yet at its finish." Swiftly repeated and more powerful blows must be struck at the enemy if we are not to lose the fruits of our best efforts and delay the day of final victory. The continuation of lend-lease is indispensable to achieve a complete and final victory at an early date with the least cost in American and Allied lives.

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79TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2013

[Report No. 178]

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 14 (legislative day, March 12), 1945 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

APRIL 5 (legislative day, MARCH 16), 1945
Reported by Mr. Connally, without amendment

# AN ACT

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That subsection (c) of section 3 of an Act to promote the
- 4 defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,
- 5 as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1945"
- 6 wherever it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof
- 7 "June 30, 1946"; by striking out "July 1, 1948" and in-
- 8 serting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1949"; and by striking out
- 9 "July 1, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1946";
- 10 and subsection (b) of section 6 of such Act is amended by

- 1 striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof
- 2 "June 30, 1949".
- 3 Sec. 2. That subsection (c) of section 3 of such Act is
- 4 further amended by striking out the period after the word
- 5 "earlier", inserting a semicolon, and the following new
- 6 language: "Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c)
- 7 shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into
- 8 or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign
- 9 government for postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation or
- 10 postwar reconstruction; except that a contract or agreement
- 11 entered into in accordance with this Act in which the United
- 12 States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense
- 13 articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution
- 14 of the present war and which provides for the disposition,
- 15 on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President,
- 16 of any such defense articles, services, or information after
- 17 the President determines they are no longer necessary for
- 18 use by such government in promoting the defense of the
- 19 United States shall not be deemed to be for postwar relief,
- 20 postwar rehabilitation or postwar reconstruction."

Passed the House of Representatives March 13, 1945.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.

# 79TH CONGRESS H. R. 2013

[Report No. 178]

# AN ACT

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act approved March 11, 1941, as amended. to promote the defense of the United States,

Read twice and referred to the Committee on March 14 (legislative day, March 12), 1945 APRIL 5 (legislative day, March 16), 1945 Foreign Relations

Reported without amendment

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Issued April 10, 1945, for actions of Monday, April 9, 1945)

(For staff of The Department only)

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HIGHLIGHTS; Senate debated lend-lease extension; passed bill removing limitation on hops-marketing order; passed SWPC-extension bill. Sen. Reed submitted resolution to investigate boxcar shortage.

### SENATE

1. LEND-LEASE. Began debate on H.R.2013, to continue the Lend-Lease Act for 1 year (pp. 3249-75). Sen. Taft, Ohio, submitted an amendment to strike out the provision that contracts or agreements entered into in accordance with the Lend-Lease Act for articles, etc., for prosecution of the present war shall not be deemed post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction (pp. 3270-5).

Sen. Langer, N. Dak., and others discussed the "shortage" of boxcars for grain transportation (pp. 3254-67).

- 2. MARKETING AGREEMENTS; HOPS. Passed without amendment S. 427, to repeal the provisions of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act which limit to Sept. 1, 1945, the effectiveness of a hops marketing order (p. 3243).
- 3. RECLAMATION. Passed without amendment H.R.1534, to amend the Fact Finders Act (p. 3240). This bill will now be sent to the President.

Passed as reported S. 37, to amend the Reclamation Project Act so as to extend the time within which amendatory contracts may be made (pp. 3239-40).

- 4. WATER UTILIZATION. Passed without amendment H.R. 914, granting the consent of Congress to Colo. and Kans. to negotiate and enter into a compact for the division of the waters of the Arkansas River (p. 3239). This bill will now be sent to the President.
- 5.TRANSPORTATION. Agreed to Sen. Tydings' motion to reconsider the bill after having passed as reported S. 47, making miscellaneous amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act (p. 3238).

- 6. SMALL BUSINESS. Passed as reported S. 105, to extend the Smaller War Plants Corporation until Dec. 31, 1946 (pp. 3237-8).
- 7. MINERALS. Passed without amendment S. 27, to provide for suspending enforcement of certain obligations against gold and silver mine operators who are forced to cease operations because of the war (pp. 3246-7).
- 8. CONGRESSIONAL ORGANIZATION. Sen. Wiley, Wis., inserted and commended for study the findings of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress (pp. 3236-7)
- 9. DAIRY SUBSIDIES. Received a Vt. Legislature resolution opposing the "proposed schedule of dairy production payments as announced by" WFA (p. 3231).
- 10. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. Received Kans. Legislature resolution favoring the proposed improvement program for the Missouri River basin but opposing the granting of unchecked authority to some administrative agency to engage in private business, operate farms, remove hundreds of thousands of acres of land from the tax rolls, take over the administration of education and of local and State laws, and in general to do the economic planning for the entire area" (p. 3232).
- 11. PETROLEUM. Received Petroleum Investigating Committee's interim report pursuant to S. Res. 36, authorizing a full and complete study and investigation with respect to petroleum and petroleum products (S. Rept. 179). (p. 3230).
- 12. BASIC COMMODITIES. Received a United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Assn. resolution urging that white potatoes be included in the list of basic agricultural products and that CCC be empowered to provide a price support for this commodity (p. 3232).
- 13. MEXICAN WATER TREATY. Continued debate on this proposed treaty (pp. 3225-30). Sen. Smith, N.J., inserted former President Hoover's letter criticizing aspects of the proposed treaty together with Sen. Milikin's (Colo.) comments on the letter (pp. 3228-30).
- 14. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. Received a Mass. Legislature.. resolution opposing the Federal Government's "infringement on the rights of the separate States" (pp. 3230-1).
- 15. COMMERCE. Received a Kans. Legislature resolution urging Congress to amend the Constitution by limiting and defining the commerce clause (pp. 3231-2).
- 16. FOOD SUPPLY. Sen. Capper, Kans., inserted a Kansas State Board of Agriculture's letter stating that the "food potentialities in Kansas in 1945 are greater than was the case a year ago" (pp. 3232-3).

### HOUSE

- 17. HOG PRODUCTION. Rep. Hoeven, Iowa, urged that the \$13.75 floor price on hogs be restored in order to encourage production (p. 3277).
- 18. WAR RELIEF. Rep. Stefan, Nebr., urged that U.S. food, clothing, and medical aid be sent to the Philippines (p. 3277).
- 19. RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION'S Dec. 1944 report received. To Banking and

plus-a-fixed-fee or cost-reimbursable contracts of the United States of paying fees or kick-backs was announced as next in order.

Mr. CORDON and Mr. TAFT asked that the bill be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill

will be passed over.

The bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for 1 year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, was announced as next in order.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, let the bill go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

That completes the calendar.

### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the last bill called on the calendar, House bill 2013, provides for the extension of lend-lease. It is important that this proposed legislation be considered at the very earliest possible date. Therefore, inasmuch as we have completed the call of the calendar, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 176, House bill 2013.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for a period of 1 year an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941,

as amended.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I do not wish to take the floor away from the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs or any of the majority members of the committee, if they wish to make a preliminary statement on the subject of the pending bill. On the other hand, I am obliged to leave the Chamber shortly, and I am anxious to make a statement of my own respecting this bill. If it is agreeable, I shall proceed.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, that

is entirely agreeable to me.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator collaborated with us in the committee on the bill, and I am glad to have him make a statement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I rise, from the minority side of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to join in recommending the approval of the pending bill, which would extend lendlease for another year, or for such shorter period as Congress may direct by concurrent resolution.

Lend-lease is an integrated part of the war effort of the United Nations. We could no more sensibly withdraw it in our own self-interest, pending conclusive victory, than we could withdraw our armies or navies from the combat zones. Under lend-lease America has made a contribution of astronomical proportions to the common cause of the United Nations, a contribution the nature and extent of which is without parallel in human relations. From March 1941 to December 1944 it amounted to \$35,000,000,-000, offset by reverse lend-lease amounting to about \$4,000,000,000. Theoretically it is returnable, or repayable in various

forms and offsets; but actually few of us have any het illusions upon this score. The intermingling of United Nations' resources in a common effort, and the extent of the destruction of those resources in total global war makes a mathematical balance impossible. I therefore suggest that the incalculable importance of lendlease is ever to be borne in mind whenever and wherever America's role in this war is measured. All our allies have made great contributions to this common and triumphant effort, some of them equally incalculable in terms of human suffering and appalling devastation, which we have been spared. It would be impossible to put a cash estimate upon these precious human values. Therefore, any comparisons are invidious. I simply suggest, as we review lend-lease, that in addition to our superbly heroic fighting sons on every battlefront beneath the sun, we are entitled to count lend-lease as one of the magnificent American contributions to this common victory over the foes of civilization.

Before I take my seat I wish to clear up some popular misunderstandings regarding lend-lease. It is no service to our mutual international relationship, upon the friendly maintenance of which the post-war hopes of America and the world depend, but on the contrary it is distinct disservice for our people to nourish needless prejudices based upon erroneous conceptions which flow from groundless rumors and fantastic gossip, which are always cumulatively contagious in time of war. I shall revert to this phase of the problems before I conclude.

It is equally essential, Mr. President, that there be no misunderstandings at home or abroad; that lend-lease stops when hostilities cease: that lend-lease is intended by the Congress to be exclusively an instrument of war; and that it must not be used by our own administrators, nor can such use be anticipated by our allies, for post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction. The clearer this distinction is emphasized now the safer we shall all be from tomorrow's disappointments and tomorrow's bitterness. The purpose of the pending bill is not only to extend lend-lease through the duration of hostilities but also to make textually clear that it does not extend beyond hostilities except for liquidation purposes. I support the bill for both purposes and both objectives.

Mr. President, the critically important part of the original 1941 Lend-Lease Act, in connection with the postwar problem, is section 3 (c). With its original dates changed pursuant to the terms of the pending renewal bill, section 3 (c) reads as follows:

(c) After June 30, 1946, or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before June 30, 1946, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States, neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a); except that until July 1, 1949, any of such powers may be exercised to the

extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign country made before July 1, 1946, or before the passage of such concurrent resolution, whichever is the earlier.

Mr. President, in my view the intent of this language was clear, even though the construction placed upon it could be ambiguous. It did not and does not mean that lend-lease commitments for postwar uses can be made prior to the termination of hostilities and then executed in a subsequent 3-year period. subsequent 3-year period is provided solely as a period of liquidation for unfinished war contracts made solely for war purposes during the progress of the war. Lend-lease is an instrument of war and nothing else. It was not intended, it is not and it must not be allowed to become an instrument of postwar relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction.

In passing House bill 2013, the pending measure, the House took occasion further to nail down these limitations, in the following proviso which the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has approved:

Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction—

And so forth. This total proviso ought to leave no final room for doubt that lend-lease shall not be used, even indirectly, for post-war purposes. It is, of course, inevitable that some commodities have a dual use, both war and postwar. It is not meant that such commodities shall be presently barred under lend-lease simply because they may have a use which extends over into the post-war period. That would defeat even the war purposes of the bill. But it is meant that in the assignment of lendlease commodities our administrators shall use sound judgment in the allocation of dual-purpose supplies, particularly as we approach the deadline when hostilities will cease, so that the congressional intent shall be scrupulously observed.

Despite all the law we can write upon the subject, however, it is inevitable that the success of observance of the congressional intent is finally dependent upon the discretion of the Lend-Lease Administration. Therefore, the attitudes and interpretations of Administrator Leo T. Crowley become of vital concern. Under such circumstances, I am glad to say that the testimony of Administrator Crowley has repeatedly demonstrated that he totally concurs in this expressed congressional intent, and that it is his repeatedly asserted purpose to live, so far as humanly possible, within the literal text of the law. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, despite every legislative precaution, we are finally at the mercy of the Administrator, checked solely by the vigilant use of our own appropriating power.

I am glad to assert that I have the greatest confidence in Administrator Crowley in this regard. He was asked

many times, and in many different ways, in both the House hearings and the Senate hearings on this bill, how he feels about his authority under the bill. He never failed to make the same unqualified answer. It may be summed up in a quotation of his testimony at page 53 of the House hearings. Mr. Crowley said:

I do not think we have any right to use lend-lease for post-war economic purposes.

There has been considerable public discussion regarding the new lend-lease agreement with France. Mr. Crowley discussed this specifically in his testimony before the Senate committee. I think it discloses the right way in which Congress wants all lend-lease handled in this aspect. Therefore, I wish to read briefly from Mr. Crowley's testimony on the French agreement, because I think it is significant, illuminating, and reassuring. Mr. Crowley's report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee contained the following statement:

The basic purpose of the French agreement is to provide the supplies and services needed by France to mobilize and fully use her resources and manpower in the prosecution of the war. Eight French divisions and 300 supporting units aggregating in all some 225,000 men, in addition to a French air force of more than 15,000 men, equipped with lend-lease arms and other supplies, are now fighting into the heart of Germany.

The Army and the Foreign Economic Administration have undertaken to furnish arms for an additional eight French divisions. Continental France, as we all know, is also an important base of Allied military operations. French ports, transportation facilities, and war industries, through reverse lend-lease, are playing a vital role in support of our fighting forces. Tires, tents, and other war supplies are being produced in French factories and by French manpower under reverse lend-lease, and with the help of lend-lease France can furnish a far greater volume of reverse lend-lease which can further help to shorten the war. The French agreement protects the United States interests by determining some of the obligations of France in advance of the war's final conclusion. The French have agreed to pay for longlife supplies such as locomotives and freight cars which may have some residual peacetime use. They have also agreed to pay for any supplies in the program which may be produced too late to be of use by the French in the war, and which are not more urgently needed by this country for other purposes. Thus the agreement provides for an orderly and efficient liquidation of the agreed supply program when the war actually ends, in a manner which helps to reduce our post-war surplus problem, our contract termination problems, and the waste of our materials and manpower. In addition, the agreement specifically reserves the right of the United States to withhold supplies whenever it is in our national interest to do so.

I may say, Mr. President, that to my way of thinking that is the use of Mr. Crowley's discretion in a fashion which Congress should approve because it implements the congressional intent upon which I have been endeavoring to put my great emphasis.

I have also said, Mr. President, that real congressional control is through appropriations. It is at this point that the lend-lease program, it seems to me, becomes much too vague. In the course of the conduct of the war, particularly in its earlier and more desperate stages, we resorted to many hasty legislative devices in providing arms for both ourselves and our allies. We made direct lend-lease appropriations, and we authorized transfers from other appropriations. As a result the balance sheet presents a confused and often imponderable contemplation. I want to call the attention of the Senate to some figures in

I said a moment ago that Lend-Lease has spent a total of \$36,000,000,000. Where did it come from? It came from a total of \$28,000,000,000 in actual direct appropriations to the President for lend-lease purposes. It came, in addition, from a total of \$35,970,000,000 of transfers authorized from the appropriations for the War Department, the Navy Department, and kindred war agencies of the Government. In other words, at the present time, with the war reaching its maximum tempo on the European front, although lend-lease up to the moment has expended only \$36,000,000,000 it has had a total appropriation authorization of \$64,000,000,000, and will presently make a request for additional direct appropriations. I repeat, Mr. President, that in the throes of the earlier crisis of the war it was probably necessary for some of this improvisation to occur.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will yield in a moment. It seems to me that we have now reached a point where we should need no longer to confront any such maze or conglomeration of fiscal mathematics.

I yield to the Senator from Kentucky. Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Michigan has referred to the fact that direct appropriations to the President amount to approximately \$28,000,000,000 for lend-lease.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. And that the additional exchange or transfer from materials abroad by the War and Navy Departments to our allies would bring the total up to approximately \$64,000,£00,000. But, as a matter of fact, is it not true that the \$28,000,000,000 has been largely exhausted, and only the difference between approximately \$28,000,000,000 and \$35,000,000,000 has been used by way of transfer, so as to make the total available amount approximately \$35,000,000,000 or \$38,000,000,000,000?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That might be the net result of the mathematics, but I must say to the Senator from Kentucky in all candor that this method of expenditure is so interlocking and so involved that it is impossible for me to make a categorical reply to the Senator's question.

Mr. BARKLEY. I appreciate that. Out of the total money appropriated for the purpose to which the Senator has referred, and out of the total possible transfers of material in kind, a much larger amount could have been given by lend-lease to the allies than was given.

My point is that I believe that the transferable part of the \$35,000,000,000 to which the Senator has referred consists of approximately the difference between \$28,000,000,000 in cash and the \$35,000,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That may be. The Senator will understand that I am not complaining against any direct additional appropriations for lend-lease.

-Mr. BARKLEY. I understand.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, what I am saying is that the time has passed when there should be unexpended authorizations of one kind or another, amounting to a net of approximately \$28,000,000,000 floating around in a twilight zone of loose uncertainty. still may be flexibility, but there should be no longer any need of ambiguity as to our lend-lease commitments. We cannot reach that phase of the matter in this particular bill because this is merely an extension of the general basic lend-lease authority for another year. When appropriations are sought under this extension I hope the vigilant Appropriations Committee of the Senate will endeavor to take some of the dubious elastic out of these blank checks upon the Public Treasury.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I do not understand how the Appropriations Committee can act as a check when already there has been appropriated more money than can possibly be spent in the next 12 months. It seems to me that there should be put into this bill a cancelation of the preexisting unused appropriation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I sympathize with my friend's viewpoint in respect to this problem. But as I stated to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], these expenditures are so interlocking in respect to previous transfers and to balances in direct appropriations that I would not feel free on the floor of the Senate, in connection with this particular bill, to undertake a blanket denunciation of all the remaining power of transfer. But I repeat that when the next Lend-Lease request for a direct appropriation under this extension comes before the Appropriations Committee, it seems to me that the situation will clearly call for a most scrupulous survey of all the direct and indirect resources which Lend-Lease enjoys. Inasmuch as the greatest burden on the lend-lease task will soon be relieved, I think that from now on we should be able to deal in far more specifically channeled funds.

By way of illustration, I may add that we were told in the committee that upon the termination of hostilities in Europe the British lend-lease commitments for the subsequent 12 months will be only about one-half of what they were in the preceding year under full hostilities on both fronts.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. What are the approximate figures?

proximate figures?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The British lend-lease during the past 12 months was approximately \$10,000,000,000. The contemplated amount during the first year after the end of hostilities in Europe is approximately \$5,000,000,000.

This leads me, Mr. President, to what I believe to be a desperately important generalization. I am not meaning to say, for an instant, that the United States does not have an interest-even a self-interest-and an obligation in respect to relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in the external, post-war world. On the contrary, I accept a substantial responsibility in this aspect. I simply lay down what I believe to be the indispensable proposition that this is a contemplation which is separate from the war and distinct in itself; that our external post-war budgets must not be confused with our war budgets; and that Congress must have a direct and conscious opportunity to deal with external post-war relief, rehabilitation, and re-construction of their own independent

To this end, I respectfully suggest that the administration should prepare for us an over-all estimate of the total commitments which it contemplates in this post-war field. Instead of a reckless piece-meal process which deals from time to time with sectors of the problem—unrelated to the problem as a whole—we should be able to judge each sector against the background of the whole. Otherwise we cannot act with prudence and foresight or with the elementary precaution which we owe to our own people.

Let me indicate precisely what I mean. What will be asked of us in respect to U. N. R. A. within the foreseeable future—even though it be at best only a speculative guess?

What will be asked of us for vividly necessary relief in places which U. N. R. R. A. does not reach?

What will be asked of us in the lend-lease hang-over?

What will be asked of us under the Bretton Woods agreements?

What expenditures are contemplated in the great name of pan-American cooperation in the immediate years to come?

What is our expected financial stake in various other international organizations, present and prospective?

What will be our expenditures in the rehabilition of the Philippines—a challenge which has a priority right-of-way? What will be asked of us in respect to the expanded Export-Import Bank?

What is contemplated by way of direct Government post-war credits to our Allied frends?

This does not exhaust the list. It merely exemplifies the problem. I submit that it is high time we tested this total prospectus against the available American resources which, in the midst of our own terrific post-war necessities, we can commit to these external purposes. This is not only due our own people; it is also due the world which otherwise may be misled into a reliance and an expectation which it is physically and fiscally impossible for us to fulfill. Such ultimate disappointments, such ultimate disillusionments, shatter good will and damage international friendships.

I suggest no intimation that we shall not do our full part in helping the United Nations to reconstruct a healthy, happy world. But I do suggest that we are neither big enough nor rich enough to become permanent almoner to the whole earth. I add that we face no such obligation, moral or otherwise, despite a tendency in some places, both at home and abroad, to assign us automatically to this role, almost as though we owed reparations to our allies in return for having made colossal contributions to their victory. I speak in no spirit of complaint. I speak only in a spirit of candor which believes that our very precious international friendships will best survive the post-war strain if we frankly understand each other's problems before they come to crisis.

I favor this extension of the Lend-Lease Act as an indispensable link in our cooperation with our allies in the conduct of the war. But I say, in this connection, that it is time we put our minds upon the total responsibilities that are accumulating for us in respect to future international expenditures. Our Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation has been wrestling for 4 months with the stupendous internal problem which the Congress and the people of the United States will confront in respect to internal post-war expenditures and taxes. It is lost labor except as we are equally realistic in respect to our external obligations. I am asking for an over-all estimate from our administrative authorities in respect to these external post-war obligations. There is a bottom to every barrel, even America's. There is a last straw which can break any camel's back. A bankrupt America can be of no ultimate help to the world. The memory of our sweet generosity would be little consolation in the midst of our own insolvency.

Mr. President, I said when I started that I wanted to disabuse the minds of Congress and the country in respect to some of the typical misconceptions which are abroad in the land regarding lendlease. In spite of what may seem to be the rather critical attitude of my more recent remarks, I am reverting now to the proposition that so long as this war continues lend-lease is an utterly indispensable part of our common United Nations' effort and we could no more refuse our approval to the pending extension of lend-lease than we could think of withdrawing our armies and navies from the combat. But lend-lease, inevitably, in an operation of this kind is the natural victim of many misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

One of the most useful things that Administrator Crowley brought to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was a running summary covering some of these misconceptions. I shall not take the time of the Senate to present the total analysis that Mr. Crowley brought us, but I desire to give the Senate a few typical examples which quite clearly demonstrate that we would do well to hunt the facts before we accept too readily some of the tales which circulate throughout the country. For example:

It is wldely rumored that our alles plan to use lend-lease materials in their export trade in competition with us when the war has ended. The rumor is heard in connection with various types of goods, but is currently concentrated on aircraft. This is Mr. Crowley's answer:

We retain title to all lend-lease material that has not been lost, destroyed, or consumed. We shall determine whether we wish to move the material back to the United States, sell lt, or otherwise dispose of it. We, therefore, control the post-war availability of such materials:

In a word, our title is conclusive from start to finish, and there can be no man-handling of these commodities in the fashion indicated.

Here is another story Mr. Crowley reports, and with which we are all more or less familiar:

Americans who have stood in long lines in recent months to purchase cigarettes have sometimes heard the rumor that one reason for the cigarette shortage was the large number furnished to other countries under lend-lease.

### This is Mr. Crowley's reply:

Our lend-lease exports of cigarettes in 1944 required only about 1½ percent of our production during that period. Some of the cigarettes which we have lend-leased have gone to the French forces in Africa; the remainder have been furnished to British armed forces on various war fronts. No cigarettes have been supplied under lend-lease for civilians. For every cigarette which we lend-leased in 1944 we sent 26 to our armed forces abroad, and the people of this country smoked 55.

### Here is another rumor:

There is a rumor current to the effect that the British charge us righ rental costs for air fields in the British Isles.

### This is Mr. Crowlev's comment:

The British have bullt 133 airfields for us at a cost to themselves of \$440,000,000 and have turned them over to us as reverse lendlease without payment by us. The figures entered in the reverse lend-lease accounts represent actual cost to the British which are generally below costs for similar construction in this country. They maintain these fields, at a cost of many millions of dollars, and in addition has furnished to our air forces large quantities of goods, including 1,500,000 pounds of chemicals, 1,700,000 hand and machine tools, 50,000 rubber tires, 34,000 tubes for our air fleet, and ammunition ranging from small-arms ammunition to 2,000-pound blockbusters.

### Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TAYLOR in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Maine?

### Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. One of the items to which the Senator did not refer in connection with our obligations to foreign countries, which illustrates a rather curious operation of lend-lease, was that while giving away some \$36,000,000,000 in lend-lease, we have incurred obligations for the many supplies we have secured abroad, so that as of September 30, 1944, according to the report of the Department of Commerce, the United States owes \$6,000,000,000 in short-term obligations to foreign countries which is immediately available on call against us. That is a very substantial item. As offsetting that, we have less than \$500,000,-000 of obligations they owe to us. The result is that the balance owed by us abroad, so far as I know, is not taken into account in any other figures which the Senator has given, or in any of the ordinary discussions of this question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator for his comment. I have no doubt, as I indicated in my previous observations, that there are many exhibits of a kindred nature which should all be brought together in one over-all survey to show the Congress what is in total contemplation by way of post-war obligations which we must confront in behalf of our allies.

No one would wish to be niggardly about the matter, every one of us wants America to do its full share, but somewhere, somehow, sometime, there must by a recognition of the fundamental proposition, as I have said before, that there is a limit even to American resources. I submit to the administration and its leaders that we are entitled to this over-all survey of our contemplated obligations before we are asked to make any of the obligations.

Mr. BREWSTER. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield. Mr. BREWSTER. The conclusion drawn by a most competent authority in Fortune magazine was that whereas we started the war with two-thirds of the free gold of the world, at the present time, as a result of the operation of various factors, we have approximately twofifths of the free gold of the world, which indicates a very marked decline in our position as a creditor nation. I speak of this because constantly in our discussions we are told we are the greatest creditor nation in the world. That is still constantly reiterated. As a matter of fact, we are one of the greatest debtor nations in the world, unless we figure that we can charge up lend-lease, and I take it no one seriously contemplates that we carry that as a substantial asset on our books, aside from what material items may be returned. Aside from such items, in balances to the world we owe \$6,000,000,000 on short-term balances at the present time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I again thank the Senator, and I again say that his remarks are directly in line with the basic inquiry which I submit to the management of this Government this afternoon. It is not enough that piecemeal demands should come down to us in respect to our post-war obligations. No Senator, on his responsibility to the American people, can make a sound judgment respecting any piecemeal request for external aid except as he can measure it against the total request that is to be made of us on all fronts and in all aspects, and until that is done, I submit, Mr. President, it is impossible for us to respond to our obligations to our own American people, or to deal with our allies on any basis which gives them any right of dependable expectation for tomorrow and the day after.

I shall not burden the Senate with any more of Mr. Crowley's exhibits respecting what he calls Fiction versus Fact. I have simply read enough to indicate that his report to the Committee on Foreign Relations is a gold mine in regard to this phase of the problem. I recommend to any Senator a study of Mr. Crowley's chapter entitled "Fiction versus Fact," in his report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, before too much credence is placed on some of the stories which are

heard regarding the maladministration of lend-lease. So far as I am concerned, I have total confidence that if it is humanly possible for one administrator to avoid maladministration, Mr. Crowley will do it.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to conclude. My chief reason for rising was, first, to indicate my total belief that an extension of lend-lease is absolutely indispensable to the war effort, and should be made without cavil or equivocation.

Then I wanted to make the point very plainly that it is the intention of Congress that lend-lease shall stop when the war ends and shall not be used, directly or indirectly, for relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction. Then I desired to make the point that the prevailing loose method of making funds available for lend-lease is entirely out of character and countenance at the present stage of the war proceedings, and that we should have far more intimate and accurate control over the funds made available to lend-lease.

Finally, I wanted to make this over-all point, which I do not think can be too greatly emphasized, that precisely in the same spirit in which the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation is now attempting to anticipate the over-all internal financial picture of the United States for the next few years to come, I think it is equally essential, even more so, that we should have a similar over-all survey of the obligations which are contemplated in the external field.

I say again, Mr. President, this suggests no lack of earnest purpose to take our full place and do our full part in continuing the international cooperation with our dependable friends-I should like to underline those words-in an interdependent post-war world. It intimates no disposition to close our eyes to obligations which we shall assume and share with the other United Nations in aiding stricken allies to rise again from the bitter ashes of the cruel calamities they have intimately suffered in this brutal war. It has no thought of attempting to ignore the call of the humanities or intelligent self-interest which, from our own standpoint, indispensably require the speediest possible restitution of international stabilities. I hope we may fully help our deserving friends to help themselves. I agree with the distinguished Secretary of State when he warns that the post-war challenge to the United Nations is a challenge on many different fronts and that appropriate collective action must be integrated on all of them.

I am only asserting that we, too, have a desperately difficult American post-war problem of our own to which our resources must be primarily dedicated; that the admonition of Holy Writ is unescapable, "If any provideth not for his own and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel"; that there are limits to the external post-war burdens which our people can carry; and that it is only elementary prudence for this Government to give the Congress an over-all survey and summary of what is presently in contemplation lest we improvidently err in dealing with the problem on a piecemeal basis.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began. I favor another extension of the Lend-Lease Act as an indispensable military factor in the triumph of the United Nations upon every fighting front where their irresistible battle banners have been unfurled. I favor rigidly confining lend-lease to its statutory character, namely, an instrumentality of war which ceases to function when hostilities have stopped. I favor a completely separated budget to handle our post-war relationship with our external battle comrades of today and our peacetime friends of tomorrow. I hope for an early over-all survey of these prospective obligations lest we over-commit our own resources in haphazard, piecemeal programs, and lest we thus unwittingly invite insolvency at home and disallusionment abroad.

And Mr. President, in great humility may I say this final word before I take my seat, inasmuch as this is probably one of my last opportunities to speak before a great adventure which impends? I am leaving shortly for an unsought asignment at the San Francisco Conference where organized humanity confronts the grave responsibility of answering the yearnings of a war-torn world which prays in many tongues at countless hearthstones for a dependable formula that shall dissipate the scourge of war forever. I hope that the distinguished senior Senator from Texas and I may be able to bring back to our colleagues, at no too distant date, a treaty of salvation which may deserve their approval in the name of enightened American selfinterest and for the sake of a happier world where peace with justice may bless free men. Despite the obstacles which rise to jeopardize our course, despite! temporary discouragements which fade in potency when weighed against the mighty end in view, we must perservere for organized peace. I could not leave without this pledge to you that I shall devote every effort within my power to reach this precious goal for which our bravest soldier-sons have died all round this sorrowing globe. I could not leave without asking for your constant prayers.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan a question. Did the Lend-Lease Administration make any estimate of how much more material would be shipped abroad altogether, and how much of that would be after the end of the German war? Was any estimate submitted by the Lend-Lease Administration of the program which the Senator says should be coordinated and presented as a whole?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The only inforformation on that subject which I recall is that which I gave the Senate, I think when the able Senator from Ohio was out of the Chamber.

Mr. TAFT. I will state why I was not of the Chamber. I think the bill is of tremendous importance. It was brought up without any notice to the Senate. I do not think it ought to be passed today, and I went out in order to try to dig up the material I have collected in connection with the measure. I greatly regret that I was not able to hear the beginning of the Senator's statement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sure the Senator from Ohio will understand that I was not complaining or criticizing him for his temporary absence, because his faithful fidelity to his floor responsibilities are a familiar legend. What I was about to say was that in the Senator's absence I indicated the only concrete exhibit which I think bears upon the Senator's question, and that is this: Mr. Crowley was asked about the relationship in the case of British lend-lease between the sum total for last year and the prospective total for the first year after hostilities conclude in Germany. suppose that comparison of figures would answer the Senator's question.

Mr. TAFT. Approximately, yes.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The approximate answer is that the British lendlease during the last 12 months was \$10,-000,000,000. The contemplated British lend-lease during the first year after the conclusion of hostilities in Europe is \$5,-000,000,000.

Mr. TAFT. But in addition to that we have entered into an agreement with France for two and one-half billion dollars, all of which now will probably be delivered after the end of the German war. Is there a total somewhere? That

is what I was waiting for.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In the Senator's absence, if I may refer timidly to that factor once more, I read the French agreement, because I think it fairly well indicates the effort Mr. Crowley is making to protect the precise point the Senator from Ohio has in view. I think the Senator will find that under the terms of the French agreement the situation is in our control every minute of the time, and that the French are obligated to pay for any post-war utility which hangs over commodities with a dual purpose which go to France prior to the termination of hostilities.

Mr. TAFT. Yes, but I may point out to the Senator that the agreement to pay during a period of 20 years is not really an agreement to pay, it is an agreement that we make a loan to France, a post-war loan, which is a part of the program to which the Senator has referred which should be included in any over-all estimate of what we are going to lend foreign countries after the war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I agree with the Senator from Ohio completely. He cannot have any quarrel with me whatever in the desire for every bit of this information which bears upon our postwar obligation. That is the whole purpose of my presentation of the subject

Mr. TAFT. I agree 100 percent with everything the Senator has said as to the necessity particularly of an over-all statement of how much we are going to lend to the rest of the world after this war, because I think such loans are gifts, or probably will be gifts, and it seems to me that before we pass the bill we have a right to a comprehensive statement of what this lending program is and how much it will involve. What I was trying to find out was whether there was any over-all estimate of how much money is going out under lend-lease. So far as we know, the appropriations are unlimited, so we have no further control

when the bill is passed over how much we are going to lend foreign countries altogether after the 1st of July, assuming the German war ends before that time. Is there any over-all estimate of that kind presented to the Senate?

Mr. VANDENBERG, Mr. President, I do not want to rob the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of its prerogative in presenting its own bill from the majority side of the Senate. I can only say for myself that the figures in respect to specific appropriations and the fiscal balance sheet were not of specific concern in respect to the mere extension for 1 year of a basic lend-lease authority. What I have said in respect to that extension is that I deeply hope that before any additional appropriations are made the Senate Appropriations Committee will vigilantly explore every penny of the already overhanging unexpended balances before anything is added to the sum total.

Mr. TAFT. What concerns me is the amendment of the act wherein the House undertook to place a limit on post-war lending. The language is:

Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction; except-

And it seems to me that the exception absolutely kills the amendment-

except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecu-tion of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

The effect of that, it seems to me, nullifies the exception. In effect it says that if the President makes the lendlease agreement before the war ends, he may lend to the foreign nation whatever is not delivered at the time the war ends. The Senator says that we retain control. The President retains control. The Congress does not retain control. Congress gives the President the power, and it seems to me that the President may proceed to lend in indefinite amounts, if the contract is signed beforehand.

Mr. VANDENBERG. All I can give the Senator is Mr. Crowley's explanation of the second proviso in the House amendment. Mr. Crowley's statement reads as follows:

The purpose of this second provision is to permit the orderly and efficient liquidation of war supply contracts with foreign governments as contemplated by section 3 (c) as originally enacted, through the purchase by foreign governments, for cash or on credit, of such supplies as may not be produced or delivered in time to be of use in the war. It would continue to permit the making and carrying out of war surplus agreements such as that recently concluded with the French Government.

It is perfectly obvious from that statement that it may involve post-war French

credits; but they must be identified, and they must be made the subject of direct post-war contracts. That is the purpose of the House provision. They cannot be hidden under a general lend-lease

Mr. TAFT. However, the effect of the French agreement is such that I doubt whether any of the \$2,500,000,000 will reach them before the end of the German war. It seems to me that that terminates all justification for sending it, and it becomes immediately a post-war loan. In fact, I believe it is contemplated as a post-war loan. I have no doubt of it. I think it was so interpreted by the newspapers. For Mr. Crowley to say, "I am not using this for post-war loans," at the same time that he is using it for post-war loans, it seems to me is a direct contradiction of terms as to how the power is to be used, now that it is being extended.

I do not understand the business of making a contract for a year to send \$5,500,000,000 to England, for example. Whatever is not delivered when the war ends, the President may lend to them. obviously for post-war purposes. Certainly there is no war purpose to be served by delivering any goods after the war is over. That cannot possibly be for war purposes. Yet we say that the President may lend such material to France, or to any other nation after the war is over. We say that it is not for post-war purposes; but, obviously, it is for postwar purposes. I cannot vote for the bill unless it is amended, because I think it is a foreign-lending bill, covering the post-war period: What I should really like to have is an opportunity to present an amendment along that line, to stop all export of goods under lend-lease agreements when the war ends, unless we thereafter enact some kind of a lending law to lend money to foreign countries. I believe we shall have to lend money to foreign countries; but this provision is wide open. I believe that when we propose to lend money to foreign countries, we ought strictly to limit the amount. We ought to decide how much we are going to lend the first year after the war, and place a limitation upon it in the statute.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I wish to make a final observation regarding the Senator's last statement. I totally agree with his demand for the most intimate specifications in regard to foreign loans and foreign expenditures, and the foreign shipment of American resources. I do not believe that he is justified in saying that there is any purpose, at least on the part of Administrator Crowley and the Lend-Lease Administration, to ship 1 pound of post-war commodities after the completion of hostilities, except as there may be some commodity involved which has been previously committed for shipment, and which it is to our greater advantage to ship than to scrap here at home. If an effort was ever made in a committee to nail down an administrator in respect to his purposes, it was in both the House and the Senate committees in respect to Mr. Crowley. I consider Mr. Crowley to be not only an honorable man, but a highly dependable administrator, with a very enviable record in the public service. I believe that Mr. Crowley intends to stop lend-lease when the war ends, and that the only commodities involved in any post-war consideration will be those which are still hanging over for ship-ment, those which have been previously committed for war purposes, but which may ultimately serve the dual purpose of a post-war peacetime use. In respect to that use, the purpose of the French agreement, as I understand it, and as I understand Mr. Crowley, is to put that residual value into the form of a postwar payable contract. Whether it is ever going to be paid, I do not know. I agree that that is a part of the general inventory which we ought to have in respect to our post-war obligations. But, so far as the basic fact is concerned, I do not believe there is power enough on earth to cause Administrator Crowley to make post-war shipments of post-war commodities, under lend-lease, to any nation in the world.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, let me read the French agreement:

These iong-life articles-

Mentioning locomotives, railroad ties, merchant ships, harbor water craft, fishing fleets, inland water craft, metalworking machinery, industrial equipment, and machinery for mines, totaling \$900,000,000-

are being furnished under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act, and are put on these terms because, while they have an important and useful part to play in the war, a large part of their usefulness may also serve postwar purposes. Under the agreement production and delivery will not have to stop on these goods even though the war should end before they were finished. The French agree to take and pay for such goods and the United States Government can proceed with an orderly liquidation of the lend-lease contracts in the manner provided for under section 3 (c) of the Lend Lease Act. The program for long-life equipment of this character is subject to substantially the same imitations as apply to schedule 1.

I think the French fully expect to get all that material. I have no doubt that they do; and I believe that if we do not give it to them we shall be falling down in a moral obligation. I think that is the whole basis of the French agreement, no matter what Mr. Crowley's policy may be.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I wish to tell the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan that I believe I speak the feelings of every Member of the Senate in telling him that I hope that he and the distinguished senior Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally] will have a very happy and successful journey to San Francisco. We feel confident that he and the senior Senator from Texas will do a very fine job.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am grateful to the Senator.

Mr. LANGER. I am sure that the Senator will take with him what he asked for a few moments ago, namely, not only the prayers of Members of the Senate but also the prayers of mothers and fathers all over the United States, if not all over the entire world.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I am very glad to echo the words just spoken by

the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Langer] in presenting my cordial greetings and assurances of affection and confidence to the Senator from Michigan on the trip to San Francisco which he is about to take.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, a year ago I was the only Senator on this floor who voted against the extension of lendlease. I have been very proud of that vote, inasmuch as it affected, not only the entire country but, particularly, also the State of North Dakota. Nothing which has occurred has convinced me more of the correctness of my action in that respect than what happened in the Senate earlier today when the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed] introduced his resolution. I wish to say before I read it that I shall welcome interruptions; I shall be glad to have Senators interrupt me at any time while I am addressing the Senate to request me to yield for any questions. I wish to say further, Mr. President, that I do not believe any man upon this floor who is representing agriculture should leave just now, at least, for a little while, while some of the other Members of the Senate may ask questions relative to this particular point.

This morning the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] introduced the following resolution:

Whereas some 2,000 country elevators essential to the marketing of wheat, corn, oats, sorghum grains, et cetera, in the States of Montana, Minnesota, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Okiahoma,

I may add, Mr. President, that the resolution omits listing a number of other States, such as Illinois and Wisconsinare filied with grain and are closed down through inability to get railroad cars for outbound shipments of grain now on hand and thereby depriving the farmer of his-only method of moving his crop; and

Whereas flour mills throughout the States named are either closed or operating part time because of insufficient freight-car supply to move wheat inbound from country elevators or flour inbound from the milis including the filling of contracts for flour for the armed forces; and

Whereas some millions of bushels of sorghum grain have been piled on the ground on farms in Texas, Okiahoma, and Kansas since being harvested last October and November because of iack of freight cars to move the harvested grain; much of such grain has deteriorated and is now deteriorating;

Whereas in the important corn producing States of Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, Kansas, and others, the corn crop of 1944 was harvested under weather conditions which left scores of millions of bushels of corn with a moisture content above the limit permitted for commercial corn marketing, thereby subjecting such corn to -rapid deterioration. Millions of bushels have deteriorated and millions of bushels are now deteriorating because of the inability of country shippers to obtain freight cars necessary for the movement of this grain to primary markets and processing milis where special drying facilities are found; and

Whereas in all the grain States of the West business is partly paralyzed.

That is what the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas had in his resolutionFarmers, miliers, marketers, and others are suffering heavy financial losses because of a totally inadequate freight-car supply to meet the requirements of that section for movement of grain aiready produced; and

Whereas this condition has now obtained for a longer period than for any previous harvesting period and with no signs of improvement adequate to meet the situation;

Whereas a most representative conference of the grain producers, country elevators, terminai elevators, grain markets, and miliers met at Kansas City on March 22—

Nearly a month ago, Mr. Presidentand set out clearly and at length this condition and prepared a petition to the Inter-state Commerce Commission, the Office of Defense Transportation, and the Association of American Railroads asking for substantial relief: and

Whereas the Interstate Commerce Commission failed to give the matter adequate consideration and failed to take any action in the way of relieving the situation; the Office of Defense Transportation went further and scornfully rejected the prayer of the Kansas City grain conference on March 22, for relief; and

Whereas the Association of American Railroads has not corrected the flagrant dislocation of the grain car supply to which attention has been repeatedly called over a period of several months: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Inter-state Commerce of the Senate or any duig authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to promptly institute a thorough investigation into all phases of this situation, to investigate ail factors contributing to, and continuing this condition to the great financial ioss of the grain States and imperiling the Nation's supply of food and feed grains necessary for our national weifare and endangering the production of sufficient materials for supplying the armed forces which bread, and to report its findings as early as practicable with such recommendations as it finds proper and necessary to correct existing conditions and prevent recurrence in the future.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield. Mr. AIKEN. In connection with the resolution submitted by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed], I may say that for a generation farsighted and patriotic Americans have foreseen the possible situation in which America might find herself in time of war, because of a break-down in transportation in the midwestern area of the country. Some have urged the adoption of a method by which grain could be moved, namely, the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway. Yet, opponents of the seaway, including certain eastern railroads, eastern utility companies, and others who have made a fortune for generations in the handling of grain at elevators and in the transportation of grain, have been sufficiently powerful to bring about the situation in which America now finds herself.

Mr. President, the welfare of our country comes ahead of unwarranted profits on the part of a small group of men who have brought about the deplorable transportation condition which now exists. If the St. Lawrence seaway had been constructed, not only could grain now be moved from western areas to east coast ports, or to other ports of the world, but it could be moved at a cost of approximately 8 cents a bushel. I hope the Congress will take cognizance of that fact and not lose any time in authorizing the construction of this great waterway which would connect our midwest areas with all the ports of the world, and put an end to the condition which now exists with respect to many of our transportation difficulties.

We do not know how long this war will last, or when the next one will begin. However, I hope we shall have sense enough not to continue to allow a group of selfish opponents of the great St. Lawrence waterway project to continue in their obstinate, selfish opposition to the waterway.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield. Mr. BUTLER. I did not happen to be present when the resolution was presented by the junior Senator from Kansas and read, so I was happy to have the Senator from North Dakota read it.

The resolution presents a view of the situation about which perhaps few Members of the Senate have had an opportunity to know. To those of us who come from that section of the United States where, when we have a crop we have it in abundance, as has been evidenced in the past several years, the situation is really tragic.

What the Senator from Vermont has said with regard to building the St. Lawrence seaway may be correct. The construction of the seaway might prove to be a solution of much of our transportation difficulties in the future. I think I have a practical suggestion for those who are interested in helping to solve the situation. We are at war. The relief for which we pray must come soon if it is to do any good to those of us who are confronted with the present situation.

-The railroads of the country have done a marvelous job in handling traffic forced over their lines during the present war emergency. I wish to commend them for the work which they have done. It has been accomplished under great difficulties. They are still struggling in order to do the work. But during the past week a situation has developed which I wish to mention in connection with the subject now under consideration.

A contract was let for the construction of igloos at a naval depot. They are to be constructed of concrete at Hastings, Nebr. The cost of the construction will total many thousand dollars. The igloos would be used for the storage of munitions, which may be needed at some time in the future. The contract calls for the use of approximately 200,000 barrels of cement, which, at an average load of 40 tons to a car, would fill approximately 5,000 railroad cars. Senators may wonder why 5,000 cars are needed to handle the cement. According to the conception of many persons, certain cars are built for handling cement only; but, as a matter of fact, grain shippers in that area are now shipping grain in cement cars because of their inability to obtain cars of the usual construction. When I was in the West a few days ago I saw shelled corn being shipped in open cars covered with tarpaulins. I saw stock

cars with the spaces between the side boards filled with lumber and lined with paper. They were used for the shipment of grain.

Mr. President, the railroads are doing a wonderful job. Those of us who give business to the railroads have cooperated with them in every way we could.

In letting a contract for the extension of the naval depot to which I have referred 5,000 cars were called for. One cement plant is located within about 50 miles of the site of construction, and another within approximately 100 miles. The 200,000 barrels of cement which will be needed will be hauled from very distant points. I know that those charged with the transportation of the cement wonder how they will perform the work in addition to everything else which they are asked to do. A request was made that the contract be amended so as to allow the delivery of cement and materials from a nearby point by truck instead of by cars. By following that procedure, the railroad cars which would otherwise be used could be diverted to relieve the situation in respect to the transportation of grain.

We are quite proud of the record of labor, farmers, and the railroads in Nebraska. Not one single strike has occurred in a war industry in the State of Nebraska. I hope there are other States which can claim a similar record, but unfortunately there are some which cannot. In Nebraska we wish to cooperate with the war effort 100 percent, and we want the various departments of Government also to cooperate with the war effort.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I hold in my hand the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives when Mr. Crowley testified. As the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Butler] said a moment ago the railroads have done a magnificent job. The trouble has been, how-ever, that they have not had sufficient equipment. Lend-lease has sent boxcars and locomotives and also farm ma-chinery, as the testimony of Mr. Crowley himself shows, to other countries.

I might say that I myself investigated conditions in my State, and I found that under lend-lease in 6 weeks last year during July and August 566 rubber-tired tractors and 366 rubber-tired combines were sent into Canada through the one little town of Portal, N. Dak., a small port of entry, and that at the very time when the farmers of North Dakota were begging for tractors and combines and plows and other kinds of farm machinery, but could not get it. Today I have the report of Mr. Crowley showing how much of it went to other countries and the reason for sending it there.

What is the situation today because of the fact that railroad cars and locomotives are not available? I have a telegram from Rock Lake, N. Dak., which reads—I may say that all the telegrams I shall read are addressed to me:

We haven't received any boxcars since March 19. We need boxcars badly.

OSBORNE McMillan Elevator Co., C. A. OLSON.

Here is a telegram from Gladstone. N. Dak., which reads:

We received no cars this last week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

In a little while I shall read the record. Here is a telegram from the International Elevator Co., a large concern at Lana, N. Dak.:

. One boxcar last week.

INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Geneseo, N. Dak.:

Retel received one boxcar first week of April.

OSEORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Sutton, N. Dak.:

Our elevator is badly in need of boxcars. Last week we received two cars. Elevator

SUTTON FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO.

Here is one from Ekelson, N. Dak.: Received no cars last year. One car this morning. Five since the first of the year. URBANA FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

Here is one from Makoti, N. Dak .: Fifty percent of wheat still on farms, Urge you use your influence to get more Urge you use you cars for month west.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Here is one from Temvik, N. Dak:

Received 1 car last week. Have received only 13 cars since the 1st of January. TEMVIK FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Temvik is right in the heart of the grain-growing section.

Here is one from Loraine, N. Dak.: Loaded two cars with grain last week. HURLEY FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

Here is another telegram from Loraine:

Received one car last week. INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Overly, N. Dak.:

We received one boxcar past week. OVERLY CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Hazelton, N. Dak.:

Received two boxcars. One April 2, one April 7.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

Hazelton is also in the heart of the grain producing section.

Here is a telegram from Wolford, N.

Received one boxcar during week.
FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

Here is one from Heimdal, N. Dak.: Had one boxcar last week. Situation bad. EQUITY FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Here is one from Roth, N. Dak.:

No boxcars received first week in April. ROTH FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

Here is one from Alice, N. Dak.: Received two grain cars last week. PEAVEY ELEVATORS.

Here is one from Binford, N. Dak.: No boxcars received since March 24. PEAVEY ELEVATORS.

March 24 was nearly a month ago. Here is one from Golden Valley, N. Dak.:

Received 2 boxcars first week of April; can use 40.

FARMERS GRAIN CO.

They got two boxcars, Mr. President. Cars are sent all over the globe, but here in America our farmers cannot get them. What is the result? The result is the resolution submitted today by the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed].

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will

the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Morse in the chair). Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I have just gotten notice that they are abandoning the use of four passenger trains running on the main line of the Soo through North Dakota and Minnesota, namely, trains 105 and 106, and 107 and 108. The Senator is no doubt familiar with those trains. They have been running for the past 40 years.

Mr. LANGER. I am very familiar with them. I begged the railroad to leave these trains on, but they took them off, as the senior Senator from Minnesota says. They have gone, although they have been running for 40 years.

Here is a telegram from Richardton,

N. Dak.:

As per your wire, we received one car.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR Co.

Here is one from Washington, N. Dak.: Received two boxcars last week.

INDEPENDENT ELEVATOR Co.

Here is one from Willow City, N. Dak.:

Received two boxcars for grain loading last week.

WILLOW CITY FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Here is one from Cooperstown, N. Dak.:

Received one boxcar week ending April 7.
SHEPARD FARMERS ELEVATOR Co.

Here is one from Dodge, N. Dak.:

We had one car the last week, only nine since January 1.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

It was only a few years ago, Mr. President, that Dodge was one of the primary grain cities in the entire Northwest.

Here is a telegram from Pekin, N. Dak.:

Received one car last week, two cars since the first of the week.

PEKIN COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR Co.

Here is a telegram from Bergen, N. Dak.:

Had four cars past week, five so far this year.

OSEORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Wales, N. Dak.:

Received one boxcar past week.

WALES FARMERS ELEVATOR.

Here is a telegram from Nekoma, N. Dak.:

No boxcars received last week.

NEKOMA FARMERS COOPERATIVE, ELEVATOR CO.

Here is another telegram from Dodge, N. Dak.:

Received one car this week.

PEAVEY ELEVATOR.

Here is a telegram from Petersburg, N. Dak.:

Received one boxcar last week. Need cars.
Petersburg Farmers Cooperative

Here is a telegram from Stanton, N. Dak.:

Received 2 cars for week. Could use 50 more.

STANTON GRAIN CO.

Fifty to two is about the proportion, Mr. President.

Here is a telegram from Juanita, N. Dak.;

Received three boxcars this last week.

PEAVEY ELEVATORS.

Here is a telegram from Landa, N. Dak.:

Retel. Saturday we received two boxcars.

Landa Cooperative Elevator Co.

Here is a telegram from Rutland, N. Dak.:

Received two boxcars past week.
RUTLAND FARMERS COOPERATIVE GRAIN Co.

Here is a telegram from Lisbon, N. Dak.:

Your wire asking for number of boxcars received past week. We received three cars after making most urgent appeals for cars in order to make room for handling of seed grain. Full particulars by air-mail letter.

J. N. Johnson Seed Co.

The farmers come in and want to obtain seed, but there is no way this elevator can clean seed because its bins are all full.

Here is a telegram from Velva, N. Dak.: One boxcar received last week. Keep after them.

VELVA FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

Here is another telegram from Lisbon, N. Dak.:

Retel. Received one boxcar last week, E. N. Nelson Elevator,

Here is a telegram from Coteau, N. Dak.:

Four boxcars received last week.

FARS ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Linton, N. Dak.:

Received four boxcars this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

Here is a telegram from Watford City, N. Dak.:

Re telegram. Have had one grain box since April 1.

FARMERS COOP ELEVATOR CO., E. VENSEN.

Here is another telegram from Watford City:

Re telegram. One grain box so far this month.

INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR, C. B. STAFNE.

Here is a telegram from Napoleon, N. Dak.:

One car this week and that had a load of seed barley shipped ln. Need cars badly for farm store grain.

Napoleon Farmers Co.

Here is a telegram from Mott, N. Dak.:
Received 3 boxcars last week. Need 50 to
take care of arrive. Sales situation desperate.
Buyers threatening cancelation of contracts.
Cannot sell any more to arrive because too
many contracts unfilled, but still have to buy
stored grain. Have 150,000 bushels ready for

shipment here. Estimate 700,000 still on farms to be moved. Grain going out of condition. Farmers' bins all full. Cannot even move enough to get room to clean seed grains.

That is a deplorable situation, Mr. President. The telegram concludes:

Present rate of boxcars won't see grain move before new crops start moving. Do everything you can to get us boxcars.

L. V. Dunkanson Elevator,

L. V. DUNKANSON ELEVATOR, Hetting, N. Dak., CLARE STOCKING, Manager.

The next is a telegram from Willow City:

We have been blocked since January 6. Can load 100 cars and need for immediate loading 3 cars daily. Over 500 members want to haul grain. Immediate action needed so grain will be moved and not allowed to spoil in farmers' bins. Get in touch with Senator WHELER and Insist on a substantial daily increase of emptles for grain movement exclusively.

clusively.
WILLOW CITY FARMERS EELVATOR CO.,
H. S. HAALUND, Manager.

Evidently they wanted me to see the Senator from Montana because he is chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce. Of course I got in touch with him promptly.

I call attention to the following tele-

grams:

MOTT, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received 4 boxcars last week need 97 to take care of arrive sales. Situation desperate. Buyers threatening cancelation of contracts. Cannot sell any more to arrive because too many contracts unfilled, but still have to buy stored grain. Have 310,000 bushels ready for shipment here. Estimate 500,000 still on farms to be moved. Grain going out of condition. Farmers' bins all full. Cannot even move enough to get room to clean seed grains. Present rate of boxcars won't see grain moved before new crop starts moving. Do everything you can to get us boxcars.

MOTT MILL & ELEVATOR CO., L. V. DUNCANSON, Manager.

BATTLEVIEW, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received only one car this week and three cars the month of March.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

LAWTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

Received two grain box this week. Elevator blocked with grain.

LAWTON GRAIN & FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Corinth, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received two boxcars.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

ROLETTE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week.

FARMERS ELEVATOR.

UPHAM, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received one boxcar this week. Situation extremely acute here.

UPHAM FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

EDMORE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Got 3 boxcars this week and only 18 since January 1 this year. All grain in heating condition.

FARMERS SHIPPING & SUPPLY Co.

LISBON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Re tel received no boxcars this week. CARTER ELEVATOR Co.

Edmore, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Elevators full of grain. Need cars urgently.
Do something. We got four cars during Jan-

uary, February, and March. Got one this

DERRICK FARM ELEVATOR CO.

Bowdon, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received three boxcars this week. Two boxcars during month of March, one during month of February. Twenty-seven thousand five hundred bushels cash grain on hand February 1. Thirty-six thousand bushels cash grain on hand April 1, which we are unable to ship account no cars available.

BOWDON GRAIN CO.

CROSBY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We have received one car for grain this week; elevator blocked; just room for cleaning grain. There is danger of grain spoiling in the elevator, not being able to turn it, and there is grain in cribs on farms that will get out of condition if not moved soon. CROSBY FARMERS GRAIN CO.

Wellsburg, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Yours date received. One car this week. VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

GLADSTONE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Our order is for five cars per iocal train day; have not had a car since February 17. FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

They need five cars a day. How in the name of heaven can the Government expect to have those farmers exist out there in that kind of a condition?

I have received these further telegrams:

ROGERS, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no boxcars this week. FARMERS ELEVATOR & MERCHANDISE CO.

REGAN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Two cars received since January 1. None this week.

> REGAN FARMERS UNION CO-OP. W. W. Scott, Manager.

STANLEY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We have received three cars this week. FARMERS UNION CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

FLASHER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We received one boxcar this week for loading.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

GARDNER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week. GARDNER FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

KNOX, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Your message date received two boxcars for grain loading this week.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO. OF KNOX.

TAYLOR, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have had four boxcars since January 1 1945. Crew will be here soon to make needed repairs to elevator and must ship out grain. FARMERS ELEVATOR Co.

OBERON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two boxcars past week. Am plugged and trying to clean seed grain for farmers. Your assistance requested and will be appreciated.

FARMERS' UNION CO-OP ELEVATOR, C. P. LARSON.

BEACH, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Occident Elevator, Beach, received two cars, Chama two, Golva one.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

MOTT, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received 1 boxcar last week; need 20 to take care of arrive sales; situation desperate. Buyers threatening cancelation of contracts, Cannot seli any more to arrive because too many contracts unfilled; still have to buy in stored grain. Have 50,000 bushels ready for shipment here; estimate 150,000 still on farms to be moved. Grain going out of condition; farmers' bins all full; cannot even move enough to get room to clean seed grains. Present rate of boxcars won't see grain moved before new crops start moving. Do everything you can to get us boxcars.

L. V. Duncanson Elevator, V. D. Duncanson, Manager.

That is really in South Dakota, right on the line between North Dakota and South Dakota.

I read telegrams from Walhalla and Hebron, N. Dak.:

WALHALLA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We received one boxcar this week.

INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

WALHALLA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Farmers Union Elevator Co. operating two elevators received two cars this week.
FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co.

HEBRON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
We received 2 boxcars the past week; had 50 ordered; elevator completely blocked since January 10, 1945. Will require 200 boxcars to move balance of 1944 crop.
HEBRON FARMERS' UNION ELEVATOR CO.

Oh, Mr. Crowley says they send them to other countries. I have his report here showing they send them, but none are sent to the farmers of the United States. They send them to north Africa, and I shall take up a discussion of north Africa and Ethiopia before I get through with this matter. I hope the distinguished Senator from South Dakota will return to the Chamber and read some of the letters he has received from soldiers who tell of acres of land filled with combines which have been there for years, and not one of them used. Of course, what happened a year and a half ago will probably happen again. I offered Resolution 105, when millions and millions of bushels of flax, wheat, oats, and barley were piled upon the ground all over the State of North Dakota, and snow came and covered the grain.

I have also received the following telegrams:

GLENBURN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Your wire received re boxcars have had two this week the first since March 20, 1945. FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

MOTT, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Retei received two boxcars this week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

BALTA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week. ST. ANTHONY AND BALTA ELEVATOR CO.

ROGERS, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no boxcars this week. OSBORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR Co.

TOWER CITY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Had no cars since March 30. Filied up on grain. Needed badly.

PEAVEY ELEVATOR.

ANETA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. One boxcar this week.

M. F. M. GRAIN Co.

MONTPELIER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received four boxes this week account had hot grain in elevator, otherwise probably would have received one.

MONTPELIER GRAIN CO.

HAMAR, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We received no cars this week. In fact, only two grain boxes this year outside of a few coal cars we were permitted to use for grain. Do your best. Thanks.

HAMAR COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

That corroborates what the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Butler] said a few moments ago about conditions in Nebraska, where cement cars are being used to ship corn. In North Dakota coal cars are being used. and anyone who has ever shipped wheat in a coal car knows the loss that accrues, and the trouble it takes to put such cars in shape to ship wheat.

The following telegrams are from Dunn Center, Deering, Berthold, Kulm, and Mandan, N. Dak .:

DUNN CENTER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Retel we received two cars past week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

DEERING, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one car this week.

Berthold, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Received three cars in January, two cars in February, six cars in March, 4 cars in April. Elevator blocked most of the time with several thousand bushels on farms to be moved as soon as we can get cars to

move it.

BERTHOLD FARMERS ELEVATOR.

RISING FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

KULM, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar for week ending April 7.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

MANDAN, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. We shipped eight boxcars this week. SLOPE ELEVATOR CO.

I have received a telegram from Deslacs, as follows:

Received three cars this week. Urgent need of more.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Richardton, N. Dak.: Two boxcars received this week.

RICHARDTON FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co.

A telegram from Litchville, N. Dak., where the Governor of the State lives, as follows:

Re telegram, one car received this week. J. C. MILLER ELEVATOR.

A telegram from Gackle, N. Dak.: One grain car received this week. Cars needed very badly.

COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Emerado, N. Dak.: Re telegram, we received two boxcars this week.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Osabrock, N. Dak.: Loaded two cars this week. FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO. A telegram from Litchville, N. Dak.: Re telegram, one car received this week. GIEBINK ELEVATOR

A telegram from Aneta, N. Dak.: One boxcar this week.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR ASSOCIATION.

A telegram from Sharon, N. Dak.: Received one boxcar this week. Need lots more. Thanks.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR.

A telegram from Ray, N. Dak.: Received three cars this week. INDEPENDENT ELEVATOR CO.

Also a telegram from Minnewaukan, N. Dak.:

No boxcars received this week. FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Cuba, N. Dak.: We have received no boxcars the past week. J. C. MILLER ELEVATOR.

A telegram from Eckman, N. Dak., as follows:

Received one boxcar this week. OSEORNE McMillan Elevator Co.

A telegram from Hague, N. Dak.: We received one boxcar this week, but need many more.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Erie, N. Dak.: Received two grain cars this week. ERIE GRAIN CO.

Then I have a telegram from Berlin, N. Dak., that is the town near which resides my distinguished colleague the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young]. The telegram is as follows:

Got one car this week. Urgent need of cars, BERLIN FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO.

A telegram from Harwood, N. Dak.: Received one boxcar this week.

FARMERS ELEVATOR, A. W. Scott.

A telegram from Orrin, N. Dak.: Loaded one boxcar that was emptied here. WOODWORTH ELEVATOR CO.

Mr. President, the only car the Woodworth Co. received was one which had been shipped in to Orrin containing some sort of goods which, after it was emptied, was promptly loaded by the Woodworth Elevator Co. with wheat.

A telegram from Appam, N. Dak.:

Wire received. Thanks. Have received 2 boxcars this week. Would like 12 more at once.

APPAM FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Mr. President, all the time the grain the farmers are holding up there is spoiling. The farmers want to get out into the fields and do their farm work. Seeding time is at hand. They cannot empty their granaries, they cannot clean their seed because the granaries are all filled up.

A telegram from Ayr, N. Dak., as follows:

Received one boxcar this week. INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Tuttle, N. Dak.: Received one car during week. Elevator blocked. Do what you can for us.

TUTTLE GRAIN CO.

A telegram from Mapleton, N. Dak.: Received no cars this week.

MAPLETON FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR, CLINT McFaden, Manager.

A telegram from Arnegard, N. Dak.: No cars 11 days. Serious delay in moving farm-stored grain. Will have about 200,000 bushels to move before next crop.

FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Ray, N. Dak.: Received two cars this week. VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Kramer, N. Dak.: Received no cars this week. Three needed. OSEORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Tuttle, N. Dak.: Re tel only received one car during week. Elevator blocked last 2 months. FARMERS EDUCATIONAL & CO-OP

UNION ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Maddock, N. Dak.: Have received three boxcars the past 2 weeks.

MADDOCK FARMERS GRAIN CO.

A telegram from Maddock, N. Dak.: Two cars this week. First for many days. Filled to capacity. Carrying charges mounting daily.

Jamestown Grain Co., R. F. BOEHM, Owner.

The farmers have to keep storing the grain. They cannot ship it out. Mr. President, it seems that the farmers of America do not amount to much, but by all means help the farmers of Europe, the farmers of Ethiopia.

A telegram from Cavalier, N. Dak .: One boxcar received this week,

INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

Then I have received a telegram from Valley City, N. Dak., right in the very heart of the grain country of the Northwest, as follows:

Retel no boxcars received this week, Only one boxcar in last 31/2 months.

BERAE FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Epping, N. Dak.: Received 3 boxcars this week, wanted 30. VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

The following telegram came from Havana, N. Dak.:

Received four boxcars this week. FARMERS CO-OP GRAIN CO.

A telegram from Wahpeton, N. Dak.: We received three boxcars this week,

A telegram from Crosby, N. Dak.:

Received one car last week; average five cars per month for last 3 months. Elevators, granaries, cribs full with no chance for moving or processing grain to guard against any weevil infestation and spoilage.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

FARMERS MILL & ELEVATOR.

A telegram from Regent, N. Dak., as follows:

Retel, received three boxcars past week. OSBORNE-MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO.

Also a telegram from Mohall, N. Dak., as follows:

Two boxcars received this week. ST. ANTHONY & DAKOTA ELEVATOR Co.

A telegram from New England, N. Dak.: Retel, received three boxcars past week. GEO. C. BAGLEY ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Harvey, N. Dak., as follows:

Please be advised we have had grain cars as follows: 6 for January, 2 for February, 3 for March, and 1 for April; can use 18 per

> HARVEY FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO., A. Welk, Manager.

Mr. President, think of it—6 cars for January, 2 for February, and 3 for March, and 1 for April, 12 in all during 4 months, and they can use 18 cars a week.

The following telegram was sent to me from Kloten, N. Dak.:

Get in touch immediately with Interstate Commerce Committee, Chairman WHEELER, and insist on a substantlal dally increase in empty boxcars from eastern roads to western roads, and the latter be required to place those cars in country for grain movement, otherwise grain taken in during the winter will spoil if we do not get same moved out before warm weather sets in. We have had three boxcars at our elevators since December 12. Do all you can for elevators here in the country.

KLOTEN FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

Think of it, Mr. President, only three boxcars received since December 12.

A telegram from Van Hook, N. Dak .: Please contact Chairman Interstate Commerce Committee Wheeler and urge him have boxcars moved to this territory for grain. Loading elevators all blocked. Only one car received this week and four last month.

FARMERS UNION COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR ASSOCIATION, GERALD RANUM.

Another telegram from Van Hook, N. Dak.:

Received one grain box this week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

A telegram from Lankin, N. Dak., as follows:

We urge that you get in touch with Interstate Commerce Committee, Chairman WHEELER, and insist on a substantial daily increase of empty boxcars from eastern roads to western roads, and the latter be requested to place these cars in the country for grain movement exclusively. Immediate action is necessary to avoid spolling of grain and warehouse space be made available to handle the increased production. Farmers are beling called to produce in 1945, and in reply to your wire no cars received this week.

LANKIN FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co., T. J. Sobolik, Manager.

A telegram from Grenora, N. Dak., as follows:

We had three cars in February, four ln March, two so far this month; we could use elght cars per day for the next 2 months. GRENORA FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

In other words, they have had three cars in February, four in March, and two in April so far, nine altogether, whereas they can use eight cars a day for the next 2 months. I was in Grenora some time ago, and I know that the granaries in the entire neighboring country are filled.

A telegram from Edmunds, N. Dak.:

Received one car this week.

EDMUNDS FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO.

A telegram from McClusky, N. Dak., as follows:

Received three cars this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

A telegram from Powers Lake, N. Dak.:

Received three boxcars this week; prior to this week, three a month since January 1.

FARMERS EQUITY ELEVATOR Co.

A telegram from Dickinson, N. Dak.: Loaded 3 cars this week, 19 since January 1; been blocked since January 10. FARMERS' COOPERATIVE

Union Elevator Co.

A telegram from Zap, N. Dak., as follows:

Retel. No boxcars received this week.

Peavey Elevators.

A telegram from North Valley City, N. Dak., as follows:

Retel. Received one rough boxcar this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

That means they had to fix up the car and get it in shape so they could ship grain.

A telegram from Page, N. Dak., as follows:

Received no cars for a month.

AWALDEN ELEVATOR CO.

Mr. President, that is in the Red River Valley, the very heart of the wheat country.

I have also the following telegrams:

HAZEN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received 2 boxcars this week. Need 50

FARMERS' ELEVATOR OF HAZEN.

HAZEN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received 2 boxcars this week. Can use 50 more.

HAZEN GRAIN CO.

ROLLA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. No boxcars this week.

WM. ELLIOTT.

 $\begin{array}{c} \text{McHenry, N. Dak., } \textit{April 7, 1945.} \\ \text{Two cars received this week.} \end{array}$ 

PEAVEY ELEVATORS, L. D. OVERBECK, Manager.

Grafton, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Have received three boxcars for loading this week.

FARMERS' COOPERATIVE GRAIN CO.

Rolla, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. No boxcars this week.

FARS GRAIN Co.

Mohall, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. No boxcars received this week. Gunderson Hansen Elevator Co.

HAZEN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

Received two boxcars this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

Warwick, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received one car this week; eight cars this year:

EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO.

Mr. President, how would you like to operate a business in the heart of the grain country, and receive eight boxcars so far this year?

Here are some further telegrams:

FULLERTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
We have had no boxcars since March 20.
Your efforts to help us will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully.

OSBORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO. EARL NELSON, Agent.

PARK RIVER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Loaded one boxcar this week.

PARK RIVER FARMERS ELEVATOR. E. KELNER.

HENSEL, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Thank you. Received one grain box this week. No cars shipped since February 16, when coal car was loaded.

HENSEL FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR, CHAS. R. WEFD.

Again we find the farmers trying to ship wheat in old coal cars.

I read more telegrams:

RUGBY, N. DAK., April 7, 1954.
We received two grain box this week.
RUGBY FARMERS UNION
COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR,
M. A. MONGER, Manager.

CARRINGTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1954.
Two grain boxes placed and loaded this week

Honlon Grain Co., Dover, N. Dak.

HILLSBCRO, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two cars this week.

ELDORADO ELEVATOR & TRADING CO., HERMAN KOERING.

HILLSBORO, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received six cars this week. EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO.

FILLMORE, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. One car received since March 1. FILLMORE EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

That is in the heart of the grain country, in Benson County.

FILLMORE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

No cars the past 2 weeks; situation drastic.

OSBORNE McMILLAN ELEVATOR Co.,
B. THOMPSON, Agent.

Jessie, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. No car since February 26. Am 80 percent full. Jessie Farmers Mercantile and elevator co.

Tolna, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.

Did not receive any cars this week.

Tolna Farmers Union Elevator,
F. T. Patterson.

OSNABROCK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
No boxcars received this week. Twenty-five boxcars needed for immediate loading.
RASMUSSON GRAIN Co.

Cando, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week. Towner County Grain Co.

CRYSTAL, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Elevator full to roof; could load out 14 cars this week. Need-25 bad.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

RAWSON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Haven't seen a car for 10 days. Have over 45,000 bushels in elevator, approximately 30,-000 bushels cash grain over station; volume approximately 500,000 bushels.

RAWSON COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

Half a million bushels, and he has not seen a car for 10 days.

Belfield, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Received three boxcars this week, during month of February two, during March two cars.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

BEULAH, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Retel this afternoon, received one boxcar this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

PLAZA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We received one boxcar for grain this week. PLAZA EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

CANDO, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. I received one boxcar this week.

H. C. WOLD.

LARK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Two cars—first cars since December. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

December, January, February, March, and April, and they have two box cars in which to ship grain. The whole surrounding country is a farming community.

Beulah, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. One boxear received this week.

PEAVEY ELEVATOR.

ADRIAN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received 1 boxcar this week. Could use 26.

ADRIAN EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

ROLLA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. One boxcar this week. STANTHONY ELEVATOR CO.

Ross, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Received two cars this week; total nine cars this year.

VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

DELAMERE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two cars this week.

P. H. GUST ELEVATOR.

New Salem, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Three cars this week.
New Salem Farmers Union Elevator Co.

BISMARCK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Had four cars this week.

PEAVEY ELEVATOR.

BOWESMONT, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Two boxcars received this week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

WILLISTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We have had two cars this week. FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

LUVERNE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received two boxcars this week.
LUVERNE FARMERS
COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

Hoople, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. We received two boxcars this week. Hoople Farmers' Grain Co.

MEDINA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received one boxcar this week loaded April 3.

MEDINA FARMERS' UNION GRAIN Co., F. L. RUDOLP.

CLEVELAND, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two cars this week. FARMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

STREETER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received 3 cars last week, but we need 17 more.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

ADAMS, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received wire. No cars this week.

ADAMS FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

CUMMINGS, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no boxcars this week. CUMMINGS FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

MAKOTI, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Cars received this week, three. FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

WEST HOPE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Answering yours date, received one boxcar this week.

KUROKI ELEVATOR CO.

MILNOR, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Re telegram two boxcars.

FARMERS GRAIN & TRADING CO.

Harvey, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Re your telegram, received two grain boxes this week, two cars in March.

FARMERS GRAIN & FEED CO., L. H. PALMER.

That is in the very heart of the grain country in Wells County. They received two boxcars in March.

ALAMO, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We received three boxcars this week. ALAMO FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

Sanish, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received two grain cars this week. Your efforts greatly appreciated.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR, R. J. DINWOODIE.

BISBEE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Did not receive any boxcars this week.
BISBEE GRAIN Co.,
F. J. BONN.

Noonan, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. We received two boxcars this week. Both elevators blocked.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

HATTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received three cars this week. Five cars month of March.

HATTON FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

That is in the very heart of the grain country of America, Mr. President, where they ought to be getting 12, 13, or 14 cars a day.

CLIFFORD, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Re tel only received one boxcar this week. CLIFFORD FARMERS COOP ELEVATOR CO.

Amborse, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received no cars this week. OSBORNE-McMillan Elevator Co.

EMEDEN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. No empties received.

FARMERS GRAIN Co.

That is in the middle of the Red River Valley. No empties received.

FAIRDALE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

No cars received this week. Elevator is full.

FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

Ambrose, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week. Ambrose Farmers Elevator Co.

ALKAEO, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one empty car.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

BRAMPTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Two cars.

BRAMPTON FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

COLGAN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received only one empty boxcar for grain loading this week, first one since March 23. Have received only seven cars all together since January 1.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

SANISH, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two grain cars this week; cars needed badly.

VICTÒRIA ELEVATOR CO., N. J. JANSKI.

FORTUNA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Received four cars this week; nine during February and March.

FARMERS' ELEVATOR CO.

DONNYBROOK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week, making only five cars this year.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

Five cars this year at Donnybrook, in a great community, with farmers for 50 miles in every direction.

LEHR, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have received two boxcars this week. EICHHORN AND SON, By RICHARD A. BECKE.

COGSWELL, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

Received two boxcars this week.

Co-OP GRAIN Co.

Overly, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.
Received no boxcars the past week.
OSBORN McMillan Elevator Co.

MINTO, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Re your wire date Minto received no boxcars this week.

FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

Strasburg, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received three boxcars past week. Farmers Elevator Co.

WEETHOPE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Answering yours date received one boxcar

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

FORMAN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We received one boxcar this week. FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

GARDENA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Your wire date. Received one boxcar this week.

OSBORNE McMillan Elevator.

Kramer, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. We had one boxcar this week. Kramer Equity Elevator Co.

WATFORD CITY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Re tel. One boxcar this month. St. Anthony & Dakota Elevator Co.

That is the county seat of a county as large as some States. It received no box cars this month.

DEVILS LAKE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

Re tel date. No boxcars received this week.

FARMERS MILL AND ELEVATOR ASSOCIATION.

That is a town of 9,000 population, in the heart of the grain country. No box-cars were received this week.

Blanchard, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.

Re tel only received two boxcars this week.

Blanchard Farmers Union Grain Co.

Epping, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received three boxcars this week. Farmers Union Grain Co.

ANAMOOSE, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week. FARMERS UNION GRAIN ASSOCIATION.

LIDGERWOOD, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Three boxcars received this week. This was more than received previous month.
FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

FLAXTON, N. DAK., April 8, 1945. We have had three boxcars this week. Victoria Elevator Co.

Buxton, N. Dak., April 8, 1945. We have received two boxcars this week. Four since January 1. Line house, that usually handle one-fourth as much grain as we do, has received four cars in same period. Have been plugged on oats and barley for several weeks. Large volume of farm storage that will not move in time for next crop unless cars start coming through. Will greatly appreciate anything you can do to relieve this situation.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

Tunbridge, N. Dak., April 8, 1945.
I received one boxcar last week.
FARMERS COOP ELEVATOR Co.,
BENNIE SOLLIN, Manager.

DOUGLAS, N. DAK., April 8, 1945.
Received 1 car last week. Total of 8 cars in 3 months. Need over 100 cars to move last year's crop which is still on hand.

DOUGLAS FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Of course, that means the farmers still have it around there, Mr. President.

Woodworth, N. Dak., April 8, 1945.
Retel received one grain box March 29,
no other since that date. Orders for grain
cars filed since January 26 are unfilled.
M. D. SORENSON ELEVATOR.

TIOGA, N. DAK., April 8, 1945. Received 3 c. rs past week, need 20 cars at once.

E. O. DICKINSON GRAIN CO.

HETTINGER, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received 7 cars during March, 4 cars this week. Need 30 cars next 3 weeks.

P. E. KNUDSON MILL & ELEVATOR.

If he wants 30 boxcars in the next 3 weeks he will have to get them back from Ethiopia, north Africa, Paris, or somewhere else.

CHURCHS FERRY, N. DAK., April 8, 1945.
Six boxcars ordered since February 22, not filled. Ordered 6 more for next week.
FARMERS CO-OP ASSOCIATION.

Well, that gentleman is very optimistic. He has ordered six boxcars since February 22, and has not received them yet, so he has ordered six more for next week.

Have not received any grain box since March 31. Account scarcity of grain box we have even got down to loading gondolas with wheat. Farmers' granaries so full they are unable to find room to clean their grain. Both of our elevators are blocked. Please do all you can to alleviate this situation.

CYRUS CLOUGH.

TOLLEY, N. DAK., April 8, 1945. No boxcars received the past week. TOLLEY GRAIN GROWERS ASSOCIATION.

FOREST RIVER, N. DAK., April 8, 1945. Re tel had only one boxcar during last 22 days.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

Belfield, N. Dak., April 8, 1945. Received three boxcars past week four other cars since January 26.
OCCIDENT ELEVATOR Co.

LEONARD, D. DAK., April 8, 1945. Received one boxcar for grain loading this week.

PEAVEY ELEVATORS.

DICKINSON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Two boxcars received this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

NEW ENGLAND, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received three boxcars past week.

OSBORNE McMillan Elevator Co.

NEW ENGLAND, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. No boxcars received this week.

BEULAH FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

ZAP, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received last grain box March 24.

FARMERS CO-OF. Co.

WYNDMERE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have not had any boxcars since March 30. Moselle Elevator Co.

ROCKLAKE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have received no boxcars this week. Something must be done to move this grain soon. CROCUS FARMERS' UNION

ELEVATOR Co., Crocus, N. Dak.

THELAN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no boxcars this week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

MAX, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We have not received any grain boxes since February 12.

MAX GRAIN CO.

CROSBY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. This week two cars. Thank you. OSBORNE McMillian Elevator Co.

BEACH, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. No cars this week up to 5 p. m. today. BEACH COOPERATIVE GRAIN CO.

MAX, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

Our elevator has been plugged since midJanuary. Have received following number of
cars since January, 5; February, 2; March, 5; April, 1.

EQUITY FARMERS' ELEVATOR Co.

PAGE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no grain cars this week.

PAGE ELEVATOR CO. =

BAKER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Our last boxcar was received March 22. FARMERS UNION CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

ENDERLIN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two cars this week. ENDERLIN FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

MAYVILLE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. None this week.

MAYVILLE GRAIN CO.

Braddock, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. We haven't had a boxcar since March 21. P. W. Berkholtz Elevator Co.

McVILLE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no repeat, no boxcars this week. MCVILLE EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO.

Brisbane, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Received two boxcars the past week. Osborne McMillan Elevator Co.

DAZEY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received only one grain box this week. PEAVEY ELEVATOR CO.

HARLOW, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no boxcars this week. Ordered

OSBORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO.

He ordered eight, but received none. Mohall, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. One boxcar received this week.

AUTH INDEPENDENT ELEVATOR.

SHEYENNE N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received 3 cars this week and need 40 more for wet grain at once.

EQUITY ELEVATOR AND TRADING CO.

Of course, Mr. President, if they do not get them the grain will spoil, and either the farmers who produced the grain will lose it or, if they have sold it to the elevator company, the elevator company will lose it; and inasmuch as the elevator is a local cooperative concern, the farmers around there who put in their crop last year will lose it.

HARLOW N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received no boxcars this month; have ordered 35 cars.

FARMERS UNION CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

LIGNITE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We got four cars this week.

AGENT STA AND DAKOTA ELEVATOR CO.

BARTON, N, DAK., April 7, 1945. One boxcar this week. Total of four since January 1.

BARTON INDEPENDENT ELEVATOR CO.

CAVALIER N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Blocked on all grains. Got one car this week.

FARMERS CO-OF ELEVATOR CO.

ELDRIDGE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one the 3d.

FARMERS UNION CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

WAHPETON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We have no boxcars this week.

PEAVEY ELEVATOR.

ENDERLIN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one car.

OSBORNE McMILLAN ELEVATOR Co.

NORMA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Your message date received 1 boxcar this week, elevator blocked, have 28 cars ordered now.

FARMERS CO-OF ELEVATOR CO.

MARION, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. One grain car received this month. Four elevators blocked.

MARION EQUITY ELEVATOR.

HORACE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Last boxcar received January 10. FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

That telegram is from Horace, Mr. President, almost in the middle of the Red River Valley, a farming community in its entirety, and we learn that it has not received a boxcar since January 10.

McClusky, N. Dak., Apr. 7, 1945. Received four cars this week. Including one at Picardsville.

McCluskey Farmers Elevator.

BLABON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar, four gondolas this

INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

They, too, are shipping their wheat in coal cars.

I see that my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Nebraska, has returned to the floor of the Senate. Let me inform him that the people in his State are not the only ones who ship their grain in cement cars, because the telegram I hold in my hand reads as follows:

MAYVILLE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Loaded one machine car and one cement car that went empty at Mayville.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

NORMA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Your message date received. One boxcar this week. Elevator blocked. Have 19 cars orders now

OSBORN McMillan Elevator Co.

BERWICK, N. DAK., April 7, 1495. Re your telegram, received one boxcar this week.

ST. ANTHONY & DAKOTA ELEVATOR.

HAGUE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar during this week.
OSBORNE McMILLAN ELEVATOR Co.

STEELE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have received one car this week. FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

STEELE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have received two cars this week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

AUBURN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received one boxcar this week. AUBURN FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

FAIRMOUNT, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. No grain cars received this week. VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

TOWNER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We have had two cars this week. FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

MILTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Have had no cars since March 10, and only two in March.

FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

ZEELAND, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We need boxcars in this territory. There is a lot of grain to be moved; some wheat beginning to heat; so will you please see what you can do about it?

ZEELAND FARMERS UNION CO-OF ASSOCIATION.

FREDONIA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Highly appreciate your inquiry. First week of April we had one car; same was unloaded at this station. We are always blocked, and could use 10 to 12 cars a week for some time. FARMERS CO-OP ELEVATOR CO.

FULLERTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

No boxcars since March 21. Elevator blocked. Farmers holding thousands bushels on farms.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO., S. O. FRIEND, Manager.

HARVEY, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Received two boxcars this week and two boxcars during the month of March.

OSBORNE MCMILLAN ELEVATOR CO., L. A. BERDAHL, Agent.

RYDER, N. Dak., April 7, 1945.

Boxcar situation serious. Wheat spoiling,
Use your influence. Get us cars from eastern roads for grain movement in North Dakota. Received one boxcar this week.

RYDER FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR, R. G. MILLER.

Well, Mr. President, that is what I am trying to do today. I see the distinguished majority leader in the Senate Chamber, and I am trying to use my influence with him. I am reading these telegrams in order to bring the situation to his attention.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHN-STON of South Carolina in the chair). Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.
Mr. BARKLEY. I may say to the Senator from North Dakota that I myself am not in the boxcar business.

Mr. LANGER. The Senator may not be in the boxcar business, but there sits the man who presided in very fine fashion over the Democratic national convention 4 years ago.

Mr. BARKLEY. We did not even have any boxcars out there. [Laughter.]

Mr. LANGER. Well, Mr. President, to whom can a Senator of the minority go, if not to the majority leader, the Democratic manager on the other side of the aisle?

Mr. BARKLEY, If the Senator will point out to me any railroad president or railroad general manager with whom I have any influence in connection with the distribution of boxcars, of course, I shall be glad to render any service I can. But I do not know of any such individual or any such railroad or any such official with whom I have any influence.

The Senator has been reading a number of telegrams, evidently in reply to messages he has sent to people in his State asking how many boxcars they have had within a given period. I imagine many of us could send telegrams to our States asking how many boxcars the people there have received for certain purposes within the last year or two; and if we did so I suppose we would find that there is a shortage of boxcars on all the railroads, due to war conditions, because of the priority of shipments for war purposes. I do not think the particular telegrams the Senator from North Dakota has been reading shed any light which would show that the situation in North Dakota is different from that which may exist in other parts of the country.

But if I had a boxcar, I will say to the Senator, I would let him have it.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I am glad the the distinguished majority leader made that speech.

I hold in my hand telegrams which have come to me, and which were received long before I sent out the telegrams to which reference has been made. I want the majority leader to know that I did not invite the sending of these telegrams. I have received many telegrams. Here is a sample of them:

MEDINA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Get in touch with Interstate Commerce Committee Chairman WHEELER on boxcar situation. Must have more empty boxcars in

Northwest States to move wet grain stored in elevators and farms to market to avoid heavy spoilage and warehouse space must be made available to handle the increased production farmers are being called to produce in 1945.

MEDINA FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO. F. L. RUDOLP, Manager.

Here is another telegram:

TOLNA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We need cars; we ask you to do all in your power to have more empty cars diverted from East to this section of the country so grain can be moved and not have to lay in storage and spoil as some has very high moisture content.

TOLNA FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR, F. T. PATTERSON.

Here is a telegram from Reynolds, N. Dak.

We call your attention to critical boxcar shortage throughout Northwest. Our elevator ordered cars in December. To date we have received one car. We have had to turn away thousands bushels of grain because elevator is blocked, causing financial loss to farmers and ourselves, besides our loss of prestige. Hundreds other elevators blocked. Thousands and thousands bushels in farm storage. Farmers clamoring for chance to deliver. Urge you contact Senator WHEELER, chairman of Interstate Commerce Committee, insisting cars be moved from eastern to western roads.

REYNOLDS CO-OP ASSOCIATION, C. PETER HAUGEN,

Secretary-Treasury.

And so forth. I have the remainder of the telegrams before me, Mr. President. If the distinguished majority leader wants me to read them I shall be glad to read them into the RECORD. I have received approximately 40 or 50 such telegrams.

Mr. President, who is to blame for the situation about which complaints are being made?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I will yield in a moment. I wish to invite the attention of the distinguished majority leader to the fact that a year and a half ago I submitted Senate Resolution 105. A. hearing was held on it before the Interstate, Commerce Committee, and witnesses from various States were present. At ' that time we warned those who were handling lend-lease that the situation would become more serious. We told them that we needed boxcars and locomotives in the United States, and that we needed farm machinery. Apparently it did no good for us to talk, as will be shown by a record which I hold in my hand and which I-received only last Saturday. The excuse was given that in Buffalo, for example, in the northeast-

ern part of the United States there had been an unprecedented fall of snow. I have letters from men who were handling the situation there. They said that just as soon as the snow melted they would see that thousands of cars were sent to the Northwest. That was in January.

Mr. BARKLEY. Who made that statement?

Mr. LANGER. Mr. Black, of the O. D. T. He wrote me the letter and made the statement. The statement was corroborated by the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], who lives in Buffalo. He told me that there had been an unprecedented snowstorm in the locality surrounding Buffalo, and that that condition might have accounted for the delay in sending cars to the Northwest.

Mr. President, what does the record show? In January, when we were told that cars were snowed in in New York State and the surrounding locality, a thousand and seventy cars were sent over the Soo line to North Dakota. In February only 624 were sent. In March, after the snow had been melted for a long time, only 871 cars were sent, or approximately 200 fewer cars than had been sent in January.

The situation is serious to the farmers of my State. It is just as serious to them as would be the situation to the people of Connecticut if industry there should stop entirely because of strikes. When boxcars do not come into North Dakota the situation is serious, The farmers there cannot have brought into the State necessary seed grain, and they have not had an opportunity to clean their grain.

I want the distinguished majority leader to know that I have before me approximately 40 or 50 telegrams, and it becomes important to do something about the complaints which are set forth in those telegrams. Most of the complaints are signed by farmer union elevators.

When I submitted Senate Resolution 105 it was said that one man was stirring up all this trouble. Therefore I got in touch with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lucas]. I told him that I wanted to be certain that it would be all right to make an inquiry. He is the chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the reason I suggested that these messages were in reply to inquiries or telegrams which had been sent by the Senator from North Dakota was that in many of the telegrams which were read by the Senator the language began with the words in effect, "In reply to your message" or "in reply to your telegram."

Mr. LANGER. The Senator is correct. Mr. BARKLEY. I assumed that those telegrams had been received by the Senator in reply to telegrams which he had sent to various persons.

Mr. President, I am not undertaking to condone the shortage of cars. We all know that the railroads of this country

have been burdened beyond all precedent in the transportation of war materials. We all know that the transportation of war materials and all forms of munitions was given a certain priority. It was necessary to do so. There was no way to avoid it. I do not suppose there is any greater proportionate shortage of boxcars in the State of the Senator from North Dakota than there is in my own State or in other States. All of us would like to have as many boxcars as we could get. But we all know the situation. I do not think it is quite fair to the railroad companies of the country, and to the O. D. T., which is really operated from the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has a reputation of being a body of fair-minded men, to criticize them for the absence of boxcars in certain localities of the country. The head of the O. D. T. is one of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The O. D. T. not only has control over the allocation and distribution of boxcars and engines, but over trucks, busses, and other forms of transportation. It is inconceivable to me that the O.D. T., composed in part of the personnel of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should single out the State of North Dakota and discriminate against it. We all know there is a shortage of railroad transportation. The shortage is due to war conditions. In view of that fact I think the railroads are entitled to have it said that on the whole they have done one of the most magnificent jobs ever done in the history of the United States in serving the people of this country in the midst of the war. Twenty-five years ago it was necessary for the Government to take charge of the railroads and operate them, because, in a sense, they had broken down. So far during the present war the Government has not been required to take over the railroads. The railroads have increased their rolling stock as much as they could under the circumstances. The fact that an unusually large percentage of their rolling stock has been used in the transportation of war materials is something that could not be avoided. The condition to which the Senator has referred as existing in his own State might be multiplied more or less by many similar situations in various parts of the country. They are due to war conditions.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I myself said to the Senator on the 26th day of November 1943, when we tried to get the railroad men an 8-cent an hour increase in their pay, that they were deserving of the increase. Nothing that he can now say in praise of the railroads, or railroad labor, could be in addition to what I said on the occasion to which I have referred. However, he apparently was absent from the Chamber for a while, because he has not grasped the point of my remarks. I am not criticizing the railroads: I am not criticizing the O.D.T. I am saying that I voted against the extension of lend-lease a year ago, and I shall vote against it again unless farm implements, boxcars, and locomotives are excluded. I have no objection to munitions, tanks, and guns being sent to our allies, but in my hand I hold the report of Mr. CrowleyMr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Commenting upon the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], I should like to say for the benefit of the RECORD and also for the benefit of Senators who are present that I have been closely associated with other Midwestern Senators, including the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Wheeler], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], and practically all the Senators from the corn belt, in an effort to relieve the situation which has arisen, starting as early as last December, relative to the shortage of boxcars.

What the distinguished and most respected majority leader says is absolutely true. The shortage of boxcars presents one of the most acute situations ever known, I presume, in the history of the country. Yet the condition suggested by the Senator from Kentucky is not the only one which has brought about the faulty distribution of boxcars from one railroad to another, and from one section of the country to another. If the majority leader will take the time to examine the exhibits which have been placed in the RECORD for months by the distinguished Senator from Kansas, I am satisfied he will find that the New England railroads-I include them all, but I think the New York, the New Haven & Hartford has been the worst violator-have had, at times, 360 percent more boxcars than they owned. It is true that they do not own as many boxcars in proportion to what they use, as do other railroads throughout the country, but the large number of boxcars in New England is unusual.

Every Senator is familiar with the reason given, which was the terrific snowstorms which prevailed throughout New England. As the Senator will remember, when he came back here recently he made a statement about that on the floor of the Senate. I went with the distinguished Senator from North Dakota and the Senator from Kansas to see the officials of the Office of Defense Transportation, particularly those in charge of the boxcar situation, and they definitely told us at that time that they expected the situation to change for the better; in fact, they told the Senator from Kansas that they would have 1,600 boxcars moving to the West daily within a certain time, and if they did that the western Senators would be satisfied. The largest number they moved throughout the Middle West on the different railroads was about 1,200 boxcars. Certainly the storm situation has passed in New England; the acute situation has long since been relieved, for it has been nearly 2 months since the heavy snowfalls, and yet the most unfavorable report which has been given to us about the eastern roads and the boxcar shortage was presented last month, thus showing a continued bad situation.

I want to proceed constructively, I will say to the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Kentucky, because we are receiving daily from all over the Midwest—from farmers there, our constituents—letters and telegrams which are worded practically the same as the-telegrams the distinguished Senator from North Dakota has read here this afternoon.

I think the situation is probably a little more acute in Nebraska even than it is in North Dakota because of the fact that we have on the ground 100,000,000 bushels of corn, which is damp, which has a high-mosture content, and which is likely to spoil, and boxcars are desperately needed. It is one thing to get boxcars to transport good grain, but it is another thing to get them so as to ship the good grain and send the spoiled grain to the drier, so that the corn can be saved for the production of meat.

I do not want to burden the Senate with too lengthy a statement; but I should like to ask permission to read a letter from my own home town, which I think summarizes the hundreds of telegrams and letters I could put into the RECORD, most of which I have turned over to the Senator from Kansas, by the way, because I understood that he would probably get something done about this matter without undertaking an investigation.

Here is a letter which is typical of the letters that come from my State. It is dated April 4, 1945, and is addressed to me personally:

DEAR KENNETH: Thousands of bushels of corn will be lost in southeastern Nebraska in a very short time if railroad boxcars are not made available to move last year's crop to market.

Much corn is still in the open on farms, and today every elevator in Pawnee County is completely filled, with no cars obtainable for loading. This condition has been unchanged for 3 months and the railroads tell us that it will not change.

That statement that there is no chance that the condition may change deeply impresses me.

Terminal grain interests inform me that they have appealed to the Interstate Commerce Commission but they have refused to intervene and alter the present set-up.

Of course the Interstate Commerce Commission has a very forceful argument because as the distinguished majority leader has said there has been a need for priority of box ars to transport munitions of war and equipment of war to our fighting forces. So we do not want to be arbitrary about that particular phase of the argument.

The carriers contend that their cars are in the east and that eastern users are refusing to release the cars for movement back to the Midwest.

I think that is something that should be very forcefully brought to the attention of Senators. The eastern lines are using these cars and not releasing them, as they should, when they have fulfilled the mission for which priority was granted. The cars ought to go back to the railroads which own them so they can fulfill the needs of the local communities which those railroads serve. I wanted to bring that point to the at-

tention of the distinguished Senator from North Dakota. I think these cars should be sent to the railroads that own them if and when the eastern railroads have unloaded their cargoes and the priority for the particular equipment and munitions because of which they got the cars has been fulfilled. It looks to me as if they are simply borrowing and keeping the cars, to the loss of the farmers of Nebraska and other States who need them in order to ship their corn.

One more thing in the letter which I hope the Senator from North Dakota will discuss-he has already mentioned it, but I hope he will dwell on it some what—is this:

Anything that you can do or any influence which you might have that will result in some grain boxes coming this way will certainly be a job well done for Nebraska farmers and a big lot of good corn can be saved from imminent spoilage. This situation is really serious and the remedy must be urgent.

We are lending money through 20 agricultural agencies to increase food production. We have loaned millions of dollars to the farmers through the Farm Security Administration; we have loaned through other agencies so that the farmers could put in crops on an incentive basis in order that we might provide food for our armed forces, our civilian

population, and our allies.

I do not want to wear out my welcome with my friends on the floor of the Senate, but I want to say once again that in Nebraska we have corn that is spoiling. All we can do with it is either to send it to be dried so as to prevent spoilage else put it in the feed lot and feed our cattle so as to produce meat. I have made it clear to the Senate that cattle feeders are not putting feeders in their feed lots, our only hope for this corn crop, which has been financed privately and also by Government agencies, is to save it before it spoils.

In a few days, in my section of the country, where the corn is simply racked up in open cribs, it will spoil, and a great loss will be suffered, not only by individuals, but by the Government.

I earnestly endorse the resolution submitted by the distinguished Senator from Kansas, and I really believe it is high time that something be done to see that the boxcars which are now being kept in the East by some of the railroads, after they have fulfilled their mission of transporting munitions and equipment, are returned to the Midwest, so that we can ship the grain, which will spoil if we cannot get it to the elevators and dry it, and it can be sent on its way. hope the distinguished Senator from North Dakota, before he takes his seat, will give his experience regarding the spoilage of grain. To me. Mr. President. the situation seems very unusual. It is not merely a question of getting boxcars so that a farmer can sell his grain, it is a question of getting boxcars so that they can ship grain which will otherwise spoil. It is an unusual situation, different from the one to be found in seasonal times of the year, when there is much grain ready to be sent to the market.

Before I take my seat I should like to call the attention of the distinguished Senator from North Dakota, as well as the majority leader, and especially of the senior Senator from Ohio, as I have already done privately, to the fact that I think the language on page 3 of the bill will have to be gone over more thoroughly and suggested amendments made, if we are to have a bill which will do what I think the authors of the bill intended to accomplish. I think the language on page 3, starting with section 2, is contradictory, and I suggest that the Senator from Ohio might discuss it, because I feel it would not accomplish the purpose which is intended.

Mr. TAFT. If the Senator from North Dakota will yield, I may say I intend to speak later on the question raised by the Senator from Nebraska, and I think perhaps I had better discuss the whole

matter at one time.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Dakota yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. I desire to take just a moment to make an observation about the latest available reports—and I think the Senator from North Dakota has the volume in his hand—showing that \$120,-000,000 of the appropriation for the French loan will be expended for box cars. There are only so many box cars which can be made in the United States and every plant is working to full capacity, and has been throughout the war, not making box cars only, but other things essential to the war effort.

Regardless of what the provision is for furnishing railway equipment to the French under the lend-lease deal, which has not yet been completed, indeed, it has scarcely started, it appears, from looking over the reports made in the last few days-and I shall quote the figures from one or two reports—that in one of our eastern ports there were 121 carloads of railway rolling equipment on hand, there were 239 carloads of steel, there were 614 carloads of automobiles, trucks. and parts, headed for the lend-lease territory.

At another port there were 206 carloads of railway equipment on hand not unloaded. The week of March 30 at one port there were 147 carloads of railway rolling equipment on hand billed to the British, but not unloaded. At another port there were 183 carloads of railway equipment billed to the British on lendlease, but not unloaded.

The point I wish to stress is that we can make only so much. We have our own problems to solve, along with the problems of our allies abroad, and it seems to me but reasonable that a larger percentage of the output of the car manufacturers in America should be turned over to our own railroads until they can catch up and can have sufficient rolling stock and cars to take care of the business in this country.

Mr. BUTLER subsequently said: Mr. President, a moment ago, when the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] was speaking, I was obtaining figures on the number of carloads of agricultural machinery booked for export and available on hand at the various ports of the United States for the week ending March 30. The figures are as follows:

Billed to the British Government: Road-building material and agricultural equipment, 90 carloads.

To the army, 278 carloads.

To the Russians on lend-lease, 44 car-

To other governments on lend-lease, 36 carloads.

For commercial use, 83 carloads.

That makes a total of 531 carloads of road-building and agricultural equipment which was on hand in ports for export during the week ending March 30, 1945. It proves that considerable farm machinery is being shipped abroad.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I have in my hand the document mentioned by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska. It is the Department of State bulletin for March 4 last. As the distinguished Senator has said, the plants here are working to capacity on locomotives and railroad cars, at a time when four trains in North Dakota and Minnesota have already been taken off because the railroad has not the capacity to run them.

I wish to read a paragraph from the bulletin of the Department of State. This is what is going to be given to

In addition to these supplies of materials provided under schedule 1 certain categories of long-lived capital goods will be provided under schedule 2 to enable France to produce and transport military equipment and other war goods for our combined forces. This will reduce the burden on our own output of such goods and will save vital shipping.

These long-lived capital goods which have a war-connected use are to be supplied to the French, who agree to pay for them in full against 20 percent down payment, and the balance in equal annual installments, within not to exceed 30 years, with interestat 234 percent per annum.

The articles and services in schedule 2 and their estimated maximum cost are as follows:

Locomotives \_\_\_\_\_ \$2,000,000 Railroad cars\_\_\_\_\_ 140, 000, 000

Mr. President, if a farmer in this country wants to make a loan from the Federal Government on a first farm mortgage the Government asks 4½ or 5 or 5½ percent, but it is going to lend money to the farmers of France at 2% percent, and it is going to give them 30 years in which to pay.

During the last war I was attorney general of my State, and at that time President Wilson said, "Raise wheat. For God's sake raise wheat, because we have to have wheat for the Army which has to march on its belly. We must have food. The farmers of North Dakota broke up hundreds of thousands of acres of land in the western part of the State, where they knew they were taking desperate chances on a crop. They borrowed money to pay for the seed, and for feed. and they thought, of course, that if they did not obtain a crop, the Government would be lenient. But it was not that way at all. When the war was over the Government forgave the debts of England, it forgave the debts of one foreign country after another, but in North Dakota there is an imaginary line. On the one side are Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and on the other side is North Dakota. The land is alike. The Canadians were our allies. We fought the First World War together. But when the war was over the farmers of Manitoba and Saskatchewan had their debts canceled. In the United States the Government sued every farmer who did not pay.

We had hearing after hearing, since I came to Congress, before Governor Black. We said, "In heaven's name let there be some agency which can adjust the debt of a farmer who is destitute and broke." Could we get that kind of a bill through any committee? We had farmers here, we had here the head of our railroad commission, who had been a farmer before he became railroad commissioner. At one time we got a measure into the full Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, but they did not report it to the Senate.

What do we find today? If a man dies and leaves a wife and four or five little children, and he owed a seed and feed loan which amounted to over a thousand dollars, the Government would take the last dollar, put the widow in the poorhouse, and take every cent there was. It might break up the family, but the Government must take the last penny it can get. Across the line the farmers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan laugh at the farmers of North Dakota. They laugh at citizens of this country.

Mr. President, the sponsors of the pending bill have the audacity of doing the same thing all over again. They are going to give the French \$200,000,000 worth of locomotives and \$100,000,000 worth of boxcars while we do not have enough cars in America to move our own crops.

That is not all. What has been done about farm machinery? At a time when our farmers in the Northwest were begging for tractors and for combines, because they knew that in a few days the wind would come and the grain would shell out, at that time, in July and August, right by the doors of the farmers the railroads hauled cars of rubber-tired combines and tractors through the town of Portal under lend-lease into Canada.

Mr. President, I voted against the extension of lend-lease, and I am going to vote against it and am going to speak against it so long as I have any breath left in my body in order that the farmers of America may receive justice. It is absurd that under lend-lease such things should be going on.

The arguments originally advanced for lend-lease were that we were going to give munitions and guns and tanks to our allies. Nothing was said about farm machinery. It is absurd that our farm machinery should be sent under lend-lease. When I brought it to the attention of the proper officials, they said that only a little farm machinery was going to be sent, less than 2 percent. Then the figure was raised to 3 percent, and I saw a statement in a newspaper a few days ago that the figure was more than 4 percent. The report, however, says a trifle more than 3 percent.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate to testimony by Mr. Crowley in the hearings before the House committee, in which he defends the sending of farm machinery under lend-lease. A little

chart was placed in front of the House committee. Chairman Bloom asked:

Are there any questions? Is farm machinery included in that blue area?

Mr. WILLETT. No, sir. Farm machinery-

Senators, listen to this-

Farm machinery is included in the industrial products group.

Imagine looking for farm machinery in the industrial products group. That is the last place one would look for it.

Mr. Crowley. Well, now, be careful about that farm machinery.

Mr. Crowley saw that Mr. Willett apparently was not being frank with the committee, so he interjected:

Well, now, be careful about that farm machinery. What do you mean by farm machinery?

That was asked by Mr. Crowley.

Mr. WILLETT. There is a certain amount of farm machinery sent to the United Kingdom and north Africa, and a small amount is sent to Russia. The total is less than 3 percent of our total production since the beginning of lend-lease.

The day before Mr. Crowley, himself in a newspaper interview, had said it was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  percent roughly.

Mr. Johnson. Three percent of what? I did not hear.

Mr. WILLETT. The total value of farm machinery sent under lend-lease amounts to 3 percent of our total farm machinery production in the United States.

Chairman Bloom. Three percent of what?

No wonder he was puzzled.

Mr. WILLETT. Of our total production of farm machines in the United States.

Chairman Bloom. Oh, of the total production manufactured in this country?

Mr. WILLETT. That is right.

Mr. President, Representative A. L. MILLER of Nebraska went overseas to make an investigation. Every once in a while trips are taken by Representatives and Senators. Some people believe the trips do no amount to much. That, however, is not always true, because we find here an important statement by Representative MILLER of what he saw on his trip overseas. I might add that the Department of State denies the truth of Mr. Miller's statement, and furnish numerous explanations for what he says. I am sorry I did not have more time to prepare for this argument because the consideration of the bill came up unexpectedly and there was not a chance to prepare for it. My remarks are entirely extemporaneous. I had no time to prepare myself as the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] did.

I read from page 167 of the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, as follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN A. L. MILLER, OF NEBRASKA, BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COM-MITTEE

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to thank you for the invitation to appear before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and offer a few observations on lend-lease. I should like to also suggest an amendment to the act as it now exists.

I shall propose the same amendment to the bill before I get through. I continue to read:

I believe that lend-lease to our allies has been necessary. It does occur to me, how-

ever, that there have been many abuses and mistakes which should not be repeated.

Last September, when visiting in England, I had the experience of seeing thousands of tractors, plows, and discs, lend-lease equipment which we had sent to England, which was not being used.

Mr. President, that was at the very time when our farmers were praying for plows. If I can show Senators one telegram, I can show them 500 telegrams from farmers sent to me saying, "For heaven's sake, give us a plow, give us a binder, give us a harrow, or give us a disc."

I continue to read:

Last September, when visiting in England, I had the experience of seeing thousands of tractors, plows, and discs, lend-lease equipment which we had sent to England, which was not being used. I believe there were at least 640 acres packed tight with farm machinery.

Mr. President, 640 acres represents a field a mile long and a mile wide.

I believe there were at least 640 acres packed tight with farm machinery.

When I went home a year ago or so I held a hearing in the county of Hettinger, N. Dak., which is not one of our larger counties, and 400 farmers came to the hearing. They said they could not get farm machinery, they could not get repairs. The county agent testified that the year before in that one county the farmers had lost over \$1,000,000 worth of flax and wheat because they did not have the machinery necessary to handle the crops. Yet while the farmers there could not get a binder, a combine, or a tractor, Representative MILLER says farm machinery was being sent across the seas, I suppose at the expense of the taxpayers of this country, and at least 640 acres were packed tight with farm machinery.

While inspecting this machinery which was new, 10 or 12 Army trucks came up to unload additional machinery. It is my understanding that the farm machinery and seed we sent to England made it possible for them to raise their own production from around 35 percent of their food needs to about 70 percent. It is my considered opinion, however, that we have shipped entirely too much farm machinery to England. We should not anticipate and meet the needs of the countries after this war is over, especially when our own farmers are suffering from lack of farm machinery.

It is my opinion that Congress should sharply cut the amounts of nonmilitary equipment being furnished under lend-lease. We are interested in winning this war. Our lend-lease equipment should be directly connected with the munitions and equipment of war.

That, Mr. President, I agree with. As I stated a little while ago, I propose to offer an amendment to the pending measure before it is voted upon.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Did not the Senator recently, in company with other Senators, visit the Chairman of the War Production Board relative to the question of the farm-machinery reguirement of this year, and the steel quotas?

Mr. LANGER. Yes.

Mr. WHERRY. It was my understanding, at the first meeting, that we

would have the same quotas this year that we had last year. Is the Senator informed that within the past week an order has gone out from the Chairman of the War Production Board that the allotment of steel for these quotas is to be reduced 30 percent?

Mr. LANGER. I had not heard about

Mr. WHERRY. The directive has already gone out that the allotment of steel for farm machinery for this quarter will be reduced 30 percent from last year's quota. I wish to inform the distinguished Senator that I asked the Chairman of the War Production Board if it was the intention to reduce the amount of farm machinery for lend-lease, and he stated that the lend-lease quotas would be reduced in the same proportion as those of our own farmers.

With the directive reducing the amount of machinery 30 percent, with the shortage of labor on the farms, and the fact that we are furnishing 76 percent of the men on the western front, what does the Senator think will be the situation in respect to the production of food in this country on Midwest farms during the coming crop season, considering the shortage of machinery in addition to the other shortages, and in view of the further fact that 96,000 men a month are still being taken under the draft?

Mr. LANGER. The result can be only famine, as the Senator well knows, if that situation continues. Even the figures which the Senator has mentioned are deceiving. It is said that a certain amount of steel has been set aside for the production of farm machinery. That does not mean that the farm machinery has been produced. The record shows that 2 weeks ago the manufacturers were 30 percent behind in the amount of machinery they had promised to produce. Of course, the excuse they gave was lack of manpower.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. A moment ago I interrupted the Senator from North Dakota to speak about the number of carloads of railway equipment on hand at ports awaiting shipment abroad. I have just looked over the last report which I have available, for the week ending March 30. Including all carloads for export—and that could mean only lendlease, or for our own use abroad, most of it destined for lend-lease shipment to Britain and Russia—the total figures are as follows:

There were at our various ports during the week ending March 30, 24,795 carloads awaiting handling. During the week previous there were 5,634 cars unloaded. There were placed in storage—I do not know whether that means in cars, or in buildings alongside the tracks—a total of 3,549 cars.

In looking over the railroad reports for many weeks, it will be found that constantly there are approximately 25,000 carloads of merchandise for export, awaiting handling at the various ports in our country. With about 5,000 being handled each week that means that those representing our Government who are

responsible for the movement of lend-lease material, as well as war materials, are moving them into the ports at a rate about five times the rate at which they can be handled. A car which is promptly unloaded will do 100 times the work of a car which is loaded and left on the track under load for a considerable period of time.

I mention this matter to illustrate that those who are responsible for the receipt and handling of this tremendous amount of material have allowed this condition to exist for many weeks, and perhaps it will continue to exist during many weeks to come. Cars which should be unloaded and returned to the country to take care of the situation about which the Senator from North Dakota has been speaking are left under load.

Mr. LANGER. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. President, I should like to read a letter from one of the outstanding grain men of North Dakota, Mr. R. F. Gunkelman, of Grandin, N. Dak., in the middle of the Red River Valley. This man is an expert.

Your wire asking for the number of box cars we received this week came in late this afternoon. We have loaded 2 cars this week and 2 last week. We have 165,000 bushels of all grain on hand, and a lot of it out in the country farmers are anxious to deliver.

The population of this little town is approximately 500.

Since January 1, with the exception of eight empties received, we have loaded out only such cars as we have unloaded. The farmers have a lot of grain that they would like to redeem before April 30. But with the uncertainty as to shipping elevators are unable to redeem.

Because of the fact that the elevators cannot get boxcars, they cannot even redeem their Commodity Credit Corporation loans.

This car shortage is costing northwestern elevators and farmers a lot of money.

As example, we bought a lot of oats in January. We have not been able to get cars to move the oats.

Let me explain that. That means that the farmers brought in the oats. The farmers in that locality raised the oats and the elevators bought them in January.

We have not been able to get cars to move the oats. The May future has not been a hedge. Cash oats are dropping much faster than the May option. So every elevator that has cash oats on hand is taking a real licking. If our railroads serving this area had a reasonable percentage of their own cars on line, they could furnish shippers a fair amount of cars.

That bears out exactly what the distinguished junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Wherry] stated.

With the large amount of grain left in North Dakota as of April 1, unless we begin to get a fair amount of cars, we will have no place to put the new crop when it is harvested.

Mr. President, to show what the socalled experts do with their charts when they come before a committee, the experts had a chart before the House committee. I read from the hearings:

Chairman Bloom. What does your chart show?

I know that both Senators from Nebraska will be interested in this testimony on farm machinery before the House committee.

Chairman Bloom. What does your chart show?

Mr. Cox. The chart shows the production in terms of billions of dollars of farm machinery, excluding crawler-type tractors, of just over \$600,000,000 in 1945, and just over \$200,000,000 in 1935, with a jagged curve between 1935 and 1945. That is under the "special statements" table in the third chart.

Mr. Mundt. Have you translated those figures into terms of farm-machinery units?

Mr. Cox. What kind of units?

Mr. Mundt. Any kind of units.

Mr. Cox. No. This is the value of over-all production. We can give you the breakdown by type.

Mr. MUNDT. I mean it is a very surprising and gratifying chart, if it is correct, as is indicated, that there is more farm machinery available now in this country than at any time since 1935.

Mr. Crowley. That is not our field, of course.

Mr. Mundt. No; but that is your chart. \_\_Mr. Crowley. The production of farm machinery is not under our jurisdiction.

Mr. Mundt. I know, it is surprising, and we want to be sure this evidence is all accurate. I was just trying to check to be sure that there was not some element involved, such as the extra cost, which is now charged to make farm machinery.

There is the testimony. Of course, everyone knows we do not now have anywhere near as much farm machinery as we need.

Finally, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a statement and table showing the amount of farm machinery which has been sent to other countries under lend-lease.

There being no objection, the statement and table were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPORTS OF FARM MACHINERY AND AMOUNT OF FOOD RECEIVED UNDER REVERSE LEND-LEASE

No farm machinery has been exported, to the present time, from the United States for the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Total exports of farm machinery under lend-lease to all countries since the beginning of the program up to November 1, 1944, amounted to \$53,600,000.

The total value of food received by the United States under reverse lend-lease and without payment by us is shown in the following table:

Country	End date	Value
India French North and West	Sept. 30, 1944 dodo	\$48, 904, 086 147, 936, 000 65, 137, 000 26, 374, 000 4, 731, 000

The figures shown above for the United Kingdom do not include (a) the value of complete rations and bread furnished to United States forces in Britain; and (b) the value of foodstuffs furnished to United States forces in the British colonics, because figures for such issues are not presently available in Washington. The table does not include figures for Russia and the Netherlands West Indies for similar reasons.

Mr. LANGER. The table is to be found on page 40 of the hearings before the House committee. It shows that the total exports of farm machinery, under lend-lease, to all countries, since the beginning of the program on November 1, 1944, has amounted to \$53,600,000 worth. That is what has been given away in the form of farm machinery.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence

George Gerry

The PRESIDING OFFICER O'DANIEL in the chair). The clerk will

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Green	O'Daniel
Austin	Guffey	O'Mahoney
Bailey	Gurney	Overton
Ball	Hart	Pepper -
Bankhead	Hatch	Radcliffe
Barkley	Hawkes	Reed
Bilbo	Hayden	Revercomb
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Russell
Briggs	Hill	Saltonstall
Brooks	Hoey	Shipstead
Buck	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bushfield	Johnson, Colo.	Taft
Butler	Johnston, S. C.	Taylor
Byrd	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Capehart	Langer	Thomas, Utah
Capper	Lucas	Tobey
Chandler	McCarran	Tunnell
Chavez	McClellan	Tydings .
Connally	McFarland	Vandenberg
Cordon	McKellar	Wagner
Donnell	McMahon	Walsh
Downey	Magnuson	Wheeler
Eastland	Millikin	Wherry
Ellender	Moore	White
Ferguson	Morse	Wiley
Fulbright	Murdock	Willis
George	Murray	Wilson

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eightythree Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Myers

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a list of lendlease appropriations which have been made up to the present time, as well as

transfers authorized from other appropriations. I invite the attention of Senators to the list. I think the information which it contains is very valuable and should appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Lend-lease appropriations to the President First lend-lease appropriation

(Mar. 27, 1941) \_\_\_\_\_\_\$7,000,000,000 Second lend-lease appropria-

tion (Oct. 28, 1941) \_\_\_\_\_ 5, 985, 000, 000 Third lend-lease appropriation

(Mar. 5, 1942) \_\_\_\_\_ 5, 425, 000, 000 Fourth lend-lease appropriation (June 14, 1943) \_\_\_\_\_ 6, 273, 629, 000

Fifth lend-lease appropriation

(June 30, 1944) \_\_\_\_\_ 3,538,869,000

Total lend-lease appropri-

ations to the President\_28, 222, 498, 000 As of Jan. 31, 1945, the status of this

appropriation was as follows: Allocated to departments\_\_\_\_\$27,763,098,563 Available for allocation\_\_\_\_\_ 459, 399, 437 Obligated \_\_\_\_\_ 23, 957, 788, 743 

#### TRANSFERS AUTHORIZED FROM OTHER APPROPRIATIONS

Direct appropriations have been made to the War and Navy Departments and to the Maritime Commission for the procurement of items which are in the main common to the uses of our own armed forces and those of our allies. These items when produced can be used, in other words, by our own armed forces or those of our allies in the manner in which they can be most effective in defeating our common enemies. It is not until they are ready for distribution that they are allocated by the military experts in accordance with strategic needs. The appropriation acts in question authorize transfers

to our allies up to stated amounts under the Lend-Lease Act. That does not mean that transfers up to the stated amounts have to or will necessarily be made. All that it means is that there is sufficient flexibility for the military experts to assign the supplies where they will do the most good in winning the

War Department: Third supplemental, 1942\_ \$2,000,000,000 Fourth supplemental, 1942\_ 4,000,000,000 Fifth supplemental, 1942\_ 11,250,000,000 Sixth supplemental, 1942\_ 2,220,000,000 Military Appropriation Act, 1943\_\_\_\_\_ 12, 700, 000, 000 Total, War Department\_\_ 32, 170, 000, 000 Navy Department: Second supplemental, 1943\_\_\_\_\_\_
Departments other than 3,000,000,000 War: Third supplemental, 1942\_\_\_\_\_ 800,000,000 Grand total \_\_\_\_\_ 35,970,000,000 Grand total available

Note.-In addition to the foregoing, Congress has with certain limitations authorized the leasing of ships of the Navy and merchant ships constructed with funds appropriated to the Maritime Commission without any numerical limitation as to the dollar value or the number of such ships which may be so leased. (See, for example, Public Law 1, 78th Cong., approved February 19, 1943, and Public Law 11, 78th Cong., approved March 18, 1943.)

for lend-lease\_\_\_\_\_ 64, 192, 498, 000

Total lend-lease aid to Jan.

31, 1945 \_\_\_\_\_ \$37, 383, 451, 538

Principal departments furnishing lend-lease aid: 17, 256, 541, 297 6, 115, 116, 143 4, 978, 398, 496 War Department\_\_\_\_\_ Navy Department\_\_\_\_\_ Agriculture\_\_\_\_\_ Treasury 3, 195, 098, 502

Foreign Economic Administration, analysis of appropriations, allocations, obligations, and disbursements under the Lend-Lease Act, as of Jan. 31, 1945

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Ammonniation (14) and danceton and	Amount of	Alloc	Allocations	Thallocated	Oblig	Obligations	Trobligated	Disbur	Disbursements	Tinlianidated
יייים מייים מיים מייים מ	appropriation	This month	To date	appropriations	This month	To date	allocations	This month	To date	obligations
1. DEFENSE AID SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION ACTS										guardinate and a second and a s
Ordnance and ordnance stores.  Navy Department.  Treasury Department  War Department	\$1, 467, 305, 956, 42	\$253, 438. 67	\$527, 767, 551. 04 47, 420. 08 935, 274, 467, 72		1.81, 332, 156.67	\$463, 378, 145, 96 47, 417, 41	\$64, 389, 405.08 2.67 16, 975.567.74	\$2, 886, 234. 60	\$382, 545, 773, 09 47, 417, 41	\$80, 832, 372, 87
Total	1, 467, 305, 956, 42	253, 438. 67	ിത്	\$4, 216, 517, 58	1 2, 121, 268, 46	1, 381, 724, 463, 35	81 364 975 49	2 040 950 49	1 300 556 601 39	81 167 869 03
Aircraft and aeronautical material	2, 484, 624, 933.84	5, 346, 671.38	311, 749, 910, 93		1 17, 437.	236, 360, 984. 97	388, 925.	163, 960. 33	197, 555, 065.	805,
Department of Offineere float agencies, reconstruc- tion Finance Corporation)  Treasury Department  War Department			500.000.00 5, 317, 485.76 2, 161, 810, 338.96		20.00 1 3, 486, 293.95	500, 000. 00 5, 217. 401. 97 2, 123, 425, 962. 63	100, 083, 79	245. 50 288, 822, 31	5, 216, 975, 65 1, 998, 255, 314, 20	426, 32 125, 170, 648, 43
Total	2, 484, 624, 933, 84	5, 346, 671, 38	2, 479, 377. 735. 65	5, 247, 198, 19	1 3, 503, 711. 39	365,	113, 873, 386. 08	028.	201,	976,
Tanks and other vehicles Navy Department Treasury Department War Department	739, 272, 940, 26	7, 800, 000. 00	115, 542, 771, 21 631, 072, 771, 58		35, 923, 738. 46 878, 937. 00	11, 261. 25 92, 928, 502. 56 618, 354, 301. 27	398.65 22, 614, 268. 65 12, 718, 470. 31	5, 093, 193. 39 845, 215. 87	11, 261, 25 31, 182, 240, 52 618, 093, 183, 57	61, 746, 262, 04
/Total	739, 272, 940, 26	7. 800. 000. 00	746, 627, 202. 69	1 7, 354, 262, 43	36, 802, 675, 46	711, 294, 065. 08	35, 333, 137, 61	5, 938, 409, 20	649, 286, 685. 34	62, 007, 379, 74
Vessels and equipment for vessels. Department of Commerce (loan agencies, Reconstruction Finance Corporation) Maritime Coumission Navy Department Treasury Department War Shipping Administration	4, 121, 703, 433. 00	1 16, 921.16 20, 331.20	1, 775, 600, 82 630, 638, 788, 46 810, 810, 084, 55 1, 618, 575, 46 9, 651, 927, 025, 54		1 16, 921, 16 10, 000, 00 1 81, 610, 93 1, 449, 68	1, 775, 600, 82 620, 833, 277, 98 743, 670, 585, 58 1, 318, 711, 87 2, 475, 508, 40	10. 305. 510. 48 67. 139, 325, 97 299, 863, 59	1 16, 921. 16 6, 187, 557. 11 1, 163, 419, 42 9, 525. 38	1, 775, 600, 82 531, 144, 484, 29 625, 531, 916, 00 1, 304, 464, 73 377, 913, 737, 914, 95	Sq. 188, 793, 69 118, 138, 842, 58 14, 247, 14
Total	4, 121, 703, 433, 00	253, 903, 410. 04	), 148.	24, 633, 284, 53	167, 978, 918. 90	,847, 186, 421.	727.	673, 974.	2, 373, 794, 352. 83	392. 068.
Miscellaneous military equipment, supplies and materials Executive Office of the President Navy Department. Treasury Department. War Department.	304, 288, 140. 58		250,000,00 23,258,850,60 3,578,836,01 273,474,145,06		1 3, 117, 40 1 514, 657, 51 1 29, 944, 98	246, 882, 60 10, 046, 803, 10 3, 403, 416, 82 254, 659, 639, 05	3, 117, 40 13, 212, 047, 50 175, 419, 19 18, 814, 506, 01	1 411, 444.17 1 498, 793.14	97, 859, 14 9, 869, 935, 67 3, 403, 416, 82 252, 429, 202, 36	149, 023, 46 76, 867, 43 2, 230, 436, 69
Total	304, 258, 140, 58	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	300, 561, 831. 67	3, 726, 308. 91	1 547, 541.35	268, 356, 741. 57	32, 205, 090, 10	1 910, 058. 77	265, 900, 413. 99	2, 456, 327. 58
Facilities and equipment for production Department of Agriculture Maritime Commission Navy Department Treasury Department War Department	1, 087, 688, 106, 72		5, 165, 000, 00 71, 000, 000, 00 109, 677, 166, 00 131, 288, 022, 32 769, 778, 502, 17		, 4.17 129, 055, 39 1 \$51, 446, 56	4. 556, 360. 66 68, 176, 900. 05 105, 873, 808, 87 119, 565, 132, 08 758, 711, 878, 04	608, 659, 34 2, 823, 099, 95 3, 803, 357, 13 11, 722, 890, 24 11, 066, 624, 13	22, 556, 05 1, 55, 435, 58 282, 769, 07 266, 124, 04 2, 084, 224, 21	4, 102, 387, 06 65, 736, 967, 78 79, 805, 986, 83 113, 319, 460, 00 750, 022, 854, 29	
Total	1, 087, 688, 106, 72		1, 086, 908, 690, 49	779, 416, 23	1 322, 387, 00	1, 056, 884, 079, 70	30, 024, 610, 79	2, 600, 237. 79	1, 012, 987, 645. 96	43, 896, 433. 74
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities and articles  Cles Department of Agriculture Department Commission Navy Department Treasury Department Office of the Scretary War Department. War Department. Federal Public Housing Authority	16, 680, 588, 589, 18	312, 143, 250, 60 315, 007, 246, 56 21, 001, 000, 00 14, 505, 334, 39 115, 236, 783, 00	7, 733, 737, 863, 00 20, 973, 888, 20 5, 491, 745, 921, 55 88, 223, 149, 69 338, 400, 700, 40 103, 718, 604, 76 56, 500, 600, 00		216. 205, 501, 98 83, 036, 915, 18 101, 407, 381, 46 14, 505, 834, 39 27, 351, 247, 14 3, 726, 579, 90	6, 814, 652, 917, 43 20, 972, 888, 24 4, 277, 874, 551, 36 188, 202, 024, 99 228, 882, 017, 55 97, 380, 815, 47 3, 726, 579, 90	977, 084, 951, 57 708, 195, 768, 31 1,213,871,367, 19 99, 21, 118, 10 6, 337, 849, 29 6, 337, 849, 29	112, 214, 042, 60 106, 134, 170, 63 97, 868, 672, 88 14, 222, 222, 22 3, 444, 392, 94	5, 473, 322, 761, 06 20, 973, 858, 24 1, 643, 747, 079, 39 2, 597, 094, 496, 50 187, 723, 486, 32 152, 133, 199, 01 26, 512, 609, 85	19, 865, 032, 00 680, 780, 057, 55 86, 748, 818, 54 70, 88, 205, 62 3, 726, 579, 90
Total	16, 680, 588, 589, 18	650, 980, 137, 95	16, 365, 108, 037. 64	315, 480, 551, 54	446, 233, 050. 05	13, 307, 304, 880, 23	3,057,803,157.41	333, 883, 441. 27	11, 101, 507, 490.37	2, 205, 797, 389, 86
Servicing of defense articles.  Martitine Commission.  Nary Department.  War Department.  War Shipping Administratiou.	790, 817, 900. 00		88, 722, 520. 94 118, 001, 061. 00 17, 312, 630, 42 533, 430, 979, 06		14,498,029.98 1,903,112.64 1,6,336,81 10,196,538.66	51, 933, 958, 62 100, 860, 032, 05 16, 846, 404, 10 474, 834, 767, 60	36, 788, 562, 32 17, 141, 028, 95 466, 226, 32 58, 596, 211, 46	766, 713. 50 1 308, 777. 90 137, 983. 45 8, 673, 396. 82	45, 220, 070, 22 96, 767, 081, 85 14, 886, 350, 79 307, 326, 153, 24	6, 713, 888, 40 4, 092, 950, 20 1, 960, 053, 31 167, 508, 614, 36
Total	790, 817, 900, 00	6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	757, 467, 191. 42	33, 350, 708, 58	4, 789, 059. 23	644, 475, 162, 37	112, 992, 029, 05	9, 269, 315.87	464, 199, 656. 10	180, 275, 506. 27
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		Alloc	Allocations		Oblig	Obligations		Disbut	Disbursements	
Appropriation title and department	Amount of appropriation	This month	Todate	Unallocated appropriations	This month	To date	Unobligated allocations	This month	To date	Unliquidated obligations
. DEFENSE AID SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION ACTS—COII.	0					1			· [	
scellancous services and expenses.  Department of Agriculture.  Excentive Office of the President.  Federal Security Agency.  Federal Works Agency.  Department of the Interior.	\$500, 000, 000. 00	\$34,000.00 11,667.45	1200000		\$13, 264, 17 1 106, 817, 42 50, 00 1, 309, 54 316, 92	\$8, 661, 401, 51 13, 252, 502, 50 181, 509, 09 392, 927, 43 9, 757, 19	\$14, 595, 110. 57 2, 218, 794, 41 284, 490. 91 107, 072, 57	\$155, 013. 27 27, 155. 33 22. 22 1, 309. 54 1, 674. 98	\$5, 360, 651. 82 10, 464, 339. 10 151, 688. 09 279, 132. 81 279, 132. 81 279, 132. 81	\$3,300,749.69 2,788,163.40 29,821.00 113,794.62
Martine Commission.  Navy Department Department of State.  Treasury Department War Department		3, 835, 000. 00 12, 480, 000. 00	41, 407, 200, 00 41, 407, 200, 00 390, 083, 80 .74, 328, 296, 85 251, 457, 742, 83		2, 444, 357, 74 11, 946, 274, 65	4 8 8 8 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	8, 127, 059. 18 18, 895, 308. 81 38, 976, 805, 51	2, 359, 915, 78	24, 440, 918, 71 390, 083, 80 50, 172, 599, 55 196, 988, 281, 57	8, 839, 222. 11 5, 260, 388, 49 15, 497, 655, 75
	500, 000, 000. 00	6, 365, 667. 45	ا ن	\$77, 407, 303. 91	185, 800.	3 8	682, 674.	488, 230.	295, 154, 478. 13	543
ministrative expenses Department of Agriculture Department of Commerce (Census) Executive Office of the President Corporative of Labor Maritume Commisson Maritume Commisson Maritume Commisson Mary Department Treasury Department War Shipping Administration	33, 208, 000. 00	746, 250, 00	11, 833, 397. 00 4, 484, 500. 00 4, 484, 500. 00 2, 548, 000. 00 1, 077, 548, 00 875, 000. 00 6, 684, 737. 38 1, 581, 737. 38		255,777,22 4,29 6,85 45,54 98,051,17	11, 332, 468, 27 4, 230, 176, 91 2, 544, 132, 03 1, 075, 681, 38 863, 813, 92 6, 608, 087, 83 1, 654, 73, 38 1, 405, 427, 73	500, 928. 73 256, 928. 73 256, 42 3, 867. 97 1, 186. 62 11, 186. 08 195, 136. 17	261,739,65 4,29 23,33 1,3,675,72 96,874,11 1,50	11,058,533,17 4,216,482,73 4,216,492,97 2,543,939,35 1,600,00 1,056,600,00 863,813,92 6,57,889,07 1,659,918,53	273, 935, 10 6, 830, 84 13, 683, 85 192, 68 19, 074, 98 80, 198, 76 48, 708, 84 54, 508, 84
	33, 208, 000. 00	746, 250.00	31, 295, 589. 92	1, 912, 410. 08,	353, 885. 07	30, 148, 559. 03	1, 147, 030. 89	354, 986. 61	29, 654, 408. 03	494, 151. 00
Total defense aid supplemental appropriation acts. 2 Transfers as reimbursements to prior appropriations	28, 209, 498, 000. 00	925, 395, 575. 49	27, 750, 098, 562, 88 13, 000, 000, 00 77, 763, 008, 562, 88	459, 399, 437. 12	649, 476, 880. 33	23, 944, 788, 743, 41 13, 000, 000, 00 23, 957, 788, 743, 41	3,805,309,819,47	436, 792, 485. 49	19, 694, 569, 087. 14 13, 000, 000. 00	4, 250, 219, 656. 27
	00.500	11	7, 833, 992, 778, 08 434, 500, 00 2, 275, 600, 82 20, 207, 469, 45 56, 500, 000, 00 500, 000, 00 2, 548, 000, 00 1, 500, 00		474, 633.37 4.29 116, 921.16 109, 927.97 726, 579.90 1, 309.54	841, 203, 147, 87 2, 275, 600, 82 17, 729, 562, 01 3, 726, 579, 90 181, 209, 92, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 93, 927, 19		653, 351. 116, 921. 27, 178. 1, 309. 1, 674.	493, 844, 333, 11 2, 275, 600, 82 14, 778, 691, 27 151, 688, 09 1751, 688, 09 279, 132, 81 2, 543, 939, 35 1, 500, 1, 77	347, 358, 814, 6, 850, 2, 950, 870, 2, 950, 871, 113, 794, 113, 794, 113, 794, 192, 192, 192, 192, 192, 192, 192, 192
Maritime Commission Navy Department Department of State Treasury Department Office of the Scoretary War Department War Shipping Administration		324, 462, 687, 81 41, 341, 090, 00 14, 505, 334, 39 118, 231, 533, 00 243, 900, 000, 00	812, 668, 279, 26 4, 315, 366, 364, 62 390, 0391, 033, 80 5, S30, 270, 553, 24 188, 223, 143, 09 5, 380, 536, 110, 16 3, 305, 708, 180, 36		14, 487, 984, 44 79, 900, 558, 43 140, 004, 232, 44 14, 505, 334, 39 21, 520, 775, 40 177, 957, 919, 22	239. 89 861. 81 083. 80 212. 94 024. 99 850. 96 219. 10	49, 919, 039, 37 957, 408, 502, 81 1,267,874,340, 30 21, 118, 10 236, 921, 259, 20 244, 726, 961, 26	6, 895, 159, 31 110, 069, 380, 67 105, 694, 729, 62 14, 222, 222, 22 5, 456, 102, 53 81, 788, 271, 04	664, 387, 540, 55 3, 061, 238, 831, 93 38, 988, 980, 28 187, 723, 486, 32 4, 902, 675, 899, 78 1, 555, 573, 997, 62	58, 361, 699. 34 296, 719, 029. 88 754, 127, 252, 69 478, 538, 67 240, 938, 951. 18 1, 505, 407, 221. 48
Subtotal Transfers as reimbursements to prior appropriations.	28, 209, 498, 000, 00 13, 000, 000, 00	925, 395, 575. 49	27, 750, 098, 562. 88 13, 000, 000. 00	459, 399, 437.12	1	944, 788, 743. 41 13, 000, 000. 00		792, 485.	694, 569, 13, 000,	250, 219, 656.
3	28, 222, 498, 000. 00	925, 395, 575, 49	27, 763, 098, 562. 88	459, 399, 437. 12	649, 476, 880. 33	23, 957, 788, 743. 41	3,805,309,819.47	436, 792, 485. 49	19, 707, 569, 087. 14	4, 250, 219, 656. 27
II. SPECIAL FUNDS DEPOSITED BY FOREIGN COVERNMENTS Executive Office of the President. Navy Department. Treasury Department. War Department. War Bepartment.	4, 974, 25 14, 961, 130, 84 41, 927, 691, 74 9, 229, 386, 61 1, 258, 077, 92	600.00	4, 974. 25 12, 400, 340. 90 41, 877, 522. 61 8, 619, 656. 27 1, 254, 662. 92	2, 560, 789, 94 50, 169, 13 609, 730, 34 3, 415, 00	82, 942, 45 316, 417, 11 11, 236, 61 1 598, 67	4, 974, 25 10, 073, 617, 50 34, 476, 748, 74 5, 815, 771, 05 1, 087, 207, 26	2, 326, 723. 40 7, 400, 773. 87 2, 803, 885. 22 167, 455. 66	621, 964, 28 645, 582, 92 1 27, 994, 58 624, 46	4, 974, 25 7, 763, 318, 79 30, 688, 380, 26 5, 746, 370, 83 40, 082, 11	2, 310, 298, 71 3, 788, 368, 48 69, 400, 22 1, 047, 125, 15
	67, 381, 261. 36	275, 927. 96	64, 157, 156. 95	3, 224, 104, 41	397, 524, 28	51, 458, 318. 80	12, 698, 838. 15	1, 240, 177. 08	44, 243, 126. 24	7, 215, 192. 56
III. ALL APPROPRIATIONS UNDER LEND-LEASE ACTS Grand total	98 980 870 961 36	925 671 503 45 15	27, 827, 255, 719, 83	462, 623, 541, 53	649, 874, 404, 61	24, 009, 247, 062, 21	3,818,008,657.62	438, 032, 662. 57	19, 751, 812, 213. 38	4, 257, 434, 848. 83
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Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, this bill comes up rather as a surprise to me, because I thought we were engaged in trying to finish the consideration of the Mexican Water Treaty, and I did not contemplate that other major legislation would interrupt it. In fact, I thought the statement was made by the senior Senator from Texas a few days ago that no interruption would be allowed in the consideration of the treaty. So I am not entirely ready with the proposals I wanted to make in the way of amending the bill. However, I offer an amendment and ask that it be read. It may perhaps change the approach tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk

will state the amendment.

The Legislative Clerk. It is proposed on page 2 to strike out the semicolon in line 10 and all words in the line after the semicolon, and to strike out all of lines 11 to 20, inclusive, and to insert a period.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I wish to make it perfectly clear that while I was originally opposed to lend-lease in peacetime, I think lend-lease is the most effective method of conducting a war, and I have no desire whatever to limit in any way its use for the purpose of winning the war or carrying through to a successful conclusion either the German war

or the Japanese war.

My interest in the bill relates solely to the use of lend-lease to carry out what are in effect post-war loans to various foreign nations. I am not opposed to some post-war loans to foreign nations, but it seems to me that we are now confronted with a whole series of measures all tending in the same direction, all tending to provide loans to foreign nations, all tending to increase the exports of this country, and advanced very largely for the purpose of putting people to work in this country and building up international trade. In my opinion, international trade or exports increased or prosperity built up on the basis of such a tremendous lending program will be wholly artificial, will produce an unprecedented inflation, and will finally bring us back to a complete collapse, and another depression, such as that we experienced in 1932.

In the original act there was section 3 (c), which provided:

After June 30, 1946, or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before June 30, 1946, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States, neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a), except that until July 1, 1949, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before July 1, 1946, or before the passage of such concurrent resolution whichever is the earlier.

Under that section, before the pending bill was introduced, the administration had been drawing up what they called 3 (c) contracts, the most typical example of which is the French contract, a contract evidently drawn up for the purpose of providing goods and materials for the post-war period.

Of course, it is very difficult to distinguish between the kinds, because under lend-lease we provide foodstuffs and raw materials; we provide manufactured goods; we provide all kinds of civilian supplies, and, of course, those are exactly the same kinds of things that are going to be required in the post-war period. But it is obvious, from the nature of the French agreement, that it was contemplated that most of those materials should be supplied perhaps after the end of the German war, when they would no longer be useful for any war purpose and were supplied largely for the purpose of rehabilitation.

The French agreement provided, first, that we would furnish supplies to equip additional French divisions. Those are dealt with first, and while the exact figure has not been given, I think the cost is two or three hundred million dollars. That is under the general lend-lease agreement. Then the administration makes something it calls specifically "3 (c) agreements," with a desire to take advantage of the loophole in the original Lend-Lease Act.

I read from the joint statement of the State and Treasury Departments and F. E. A.:

War production materials and other vital supplies and services will be furnished by the United States to the French under these agreements on lend-lease until a determination by the President that they are no longer necessary for the prosecution of the war.

He finds, then, that they are no longer necessary.

After this determination, the French may under the 3 (c) agreement continue to receive the undelivered balances of certain supplies in the program and to pay for them on specified credit terms—

Something like payment in 20 years, with interest at the rate of 2% percent per annum. In other words, we are making a loan to the French for postwar purposes, and that is the very purpose of the French agreement-

with the reserved right to have the programs or contracts canceled upon paying the United States its out-of-pocket costs. The United States agrees to deliver the programed supplies to the French, after this determination by the President, unless the President determines that it is not in our national interest to do so.

The President does not need to go on. but so far as Congress is concerned, we authorize him to make a loan up to two and a half billion dollars to the French Government for post-war purposes.

The articles which are to be supplied

are then listed: War materials for war use and essential civilian supply (cotton, metals, steel, chemicals, synthetic rubber, drugs, medical supplies, etc.) \_\_ \$840,000,000 Food, milk, pulses, edible oils, 185, 000, 000 Petroleum supplies\_\_\_\_\_ 132,000,000 French prisoner-of-war supplies\_\_\_\_\_Short - life manufacturing 48,000,000 equipment for war production \_\_\_\_\_ 250, 000, 000

Manufacturing equipment, I suppose, is hand tools and machine tools. Freight charges\_\_\_\_\_ \$220,000,000

That makes \$1,675,000,000. Some of that material can be used for the war, but the chances are, of course, that none of it, practically, will reach France before the war with Germany is ended, and I do not suppose anyone expects the French to help us in the war with Japan.

In addition to these supplies and materials provided under schedule 1, certain ate-gories of long-life capital goods would be provided under schedule 2 to enable France to produce and transport military equipment and other war goods for our combined

Locomotives	\$200,000,000
Railroad cars	120, 000, 000
ships)	140, 000, 000
Harbor watercraft	32, 000, 000
Fishing fleet	8, 000, 000
Inland watercraft (barges)	50, 000, 000
Metalworking machinery	100, 000, 000
Industrial equipment	150, 000, 000
Machinery for mines, arsenals,	2.00a
etc	100, 000, 000

The total of those items is \$900,000,000. The grand total is two and a half billion dollars, all of which, for all practical purposes, will be post-war. The French understand that, and they intend they shall get it on loan.

Personally, I am willing to support a loan to France, but I do not think it should be made under lend-lease. think if we are to authorize a loan to France, we should authorize it, and if the war shall end before most of these goods are delivered, they should not be delivered unless Congress thereafter authorizes a loan to France.

The bill contains this language:

Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

I assume that means that the President could not carry out a lend-lease contract once the war was over because obviously it could no longer be for lend-lease goods.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I have been thinking about the statement made by the Senator from Ohio that we do not expect France to help us in the Pacific war The Senator stated that he did not think any one anticipated that the French would aid or assist us. I do not want that statement to go unchallenged, because France has great interests in the Far East, and I for one would think we would be justified in expecting France to help to the extent of her military ability if it becomes necessary in the war in the Pacific.

Mr. TAFT. Perhaps I made an extreme statement. I think, however, that France is obviously exhausted and unable to conduct war on the other side of the world, and if I were to estimate the amount, we might conceivably allot to the French operation in Indochina, I think \$100,000,000 would finance all the activities France will ever undertake there. I do not think two and a half billion dollars is going to have any relation to the conduct of the war in Indo-

Then this amendment, Mr. President, having excluded the carrying out of a contract for post-war relief, puts in an exception which I propose to strike out, which seems to me to throw the door wide open again. It provides:

Except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation or post-war reconstruction.

The second paragraph simply nullifies the first paragraph. It refers to the French contract, if you please, and says to the President, "You may proceed and make all the contracts you want to, such as the French contract, under this exception." I see, therefore, no particular reason why there might not be many billion dollars of the money already appropriated for lend-lease covering a long period, and then delivered on a loan after the war, that is as over-all, when it cannot be any longer for war purposes. In fact the President has to determine that the money is no longer necessary for war purposes, and then he may turn the whole thing into a loan to all the foreign

It seems to me that obviously that particular provision should be stricken out.

I do not quite understand the figures on the British agreement. There was published in December a reference to the British agreement, and I read from the New York Times of November 30:

American assistance in helping Great Britain rebuild her export trade and a 43 percent reduction in lend-lease aid to that country after the defeat of Germany are provided for under terms of the lend-lease agreement for the "second" phase of the war.

Details of the agreement were made public

Details of the agreement were made public here today in a joint statement by Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

The same day Mr. Churchill made a speech in the House of Commons describing the lend-lease agreement. The article from which I have just read continues:

The new arrangements, which will go into effect when the Reich falls, provide for \$5,500,000,000 of lend-lease aid to Britain in the ensuing year, of which \$2,700,000,000 will be munitions and \$2,800,000,000 nonmunitions items, including about \$800,000,000 worth of petroleum products for the Allied oil pool, a considerable amount of shipping and raw materials for making munitions.

The \$5,500,000,000 would represents 43 per-

The \$5,500,000,000 would represents 43 percent cut from the present rate of lend-lease aid.

That might have been the present rate of lend-lease aid, but the last report of the Lend-Lease Administration filed at the end of the year shows that the total lend-lease aid to the United Kingdom from January to November 1944, was

\$4,680,000,000, which at the same rate would amount to about \$5,000,000,000, not \$10,000,000,000 in the year 1944, and the five and one-half billion dollars will actually be an increase over the lend-lease aid given to Britain in the year 1944. The figure \$10,000,000,000 represents the total lend-lease aid to all countries, whereas the five and one-half billion dollars represents the contemplated lend-lease to Britain in 12 months after the end of the German war.

Mr. Churchill made a statement about it which was a little hard for me to follow. He said:

The defeat of Germany will make possible reductions in the lend-lease program, and in certain fields we have been able to anticipate these changes and to work out the basis of a new program from the beginning of 1945. Thus, from that date we shall no longer get shipments to this country under lend-lease of any manufactured articles for civilian use which enter into the export trade, nor of many raw materials and semifabricated materials such as iron, steel, and some nonferrous metals. We shall then be free to export a wide range of goods made from those materials.

He said further:

There is not and never has been any question of reexporting in commerce any articles we received under lend-lease, nor in general shall we receive in this country under lend-lease finished articles identical with those we export.

But whether they are to be paid for under the same arrangement as the French arrangement, under a 30-year credit is not entirely clear.

In any event, there is a British agreement which is apparently something like the French agreement. It was widely stated, in fact I think it is well authenticated, that the Russians have asked for \$6,000,000,000. I think they have been told that they cannot now get it under lend-lease, and we will have to figure some other method of loaning it to them. I am not sure about that. I am told that Mr. Crowley says he is not going to use this money for post-war purposes, but there are two difficulties with Mr. Crowley's statement. In the first place, he certainly has not repudiated this exception clause which permits him to lend the money in effect for post-war purposes, and, in the second place, Mr. Crowley may not be the Foreign Economic Administrator and may not have the say when the time comes to enter into these agreements. So I do not think we can rely on anything Mr. Crowley told the Foreign Relations Committee. The hearings have not been printed as yet, so we cannot determine what Mr. Crowley promised the Foreign Relations Commit-

Mr. President, I feel strongly on the subject of post-war loans because it seems to me they contemplate a vast expansion of manufacture beyond what we can produce. The Senator from North Dakota has referred already to the conflict over boxcars and locomotives for our railroads and for those of France. I think there should be some equitable division. But a few days ago Mr. Eccles, before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency expressed the opinion that far from making vast loans to foreign countries after the war, we would

have to limit exports, because for several years we would be unable to produce the goods which would be sought by our own people who could buy them, and by those in other countries who would be trying to buy them.

I should like to make some general remarks, Mr. President, on the change of the situation which seems to have occurred. Until within a few months the public concern has been that there might be great unemployment and depression after the war in connection with the demobilization of the Army and of millions of workers in war plants. The fear has been that it may be impossible to convert war industry into peace industry in time to care for those who have been released. This was a set-up for the advocates of public spending. Their propaganda took prompt advantage of this public concern to advance many global projects for the use of Federal money. And we have this hang-over.

I have not any doubt that in the beginning it was contemplated that most of the post-war relief in Europe should be handled through the lend-lease under paragraph 3 (c); 3 (c) was made for that purpose. Every city throughout the Nation has been urged to prepare a program of public works and get ready to build itself over. The idea is implied that the Federal Government will provide the funds.

The President's January message to Congress contained many plans for spending public money, all with the implication that they were necessary to provide jobs. That is what lies behind the program of lending the people's money to foreign nations. In some way we are going to create prosperity for ourselves by lending money to foreign nations. Already we have increased the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation by \$2,000,000,000. Federal agencies are planning loans for the reconversion and extension of industrial plants. Unemployment compensation rates are to be increased.

There is another method by which money may be loaned abroad, and that is in the disposition of surplus commodities. I believe the Surplus Property Administrator has power to sell on credit, and he may plan to sell large amounts of surplus commodities to foreign nations on credit.

This same argument for the creation of jobs has been used to promote plans for lending large sums of money throughout the world. Apparently, in addition to the surplus property, in addition to the method of lending through lendlease, and in addition to Bretton Woods, which will supply about \$6,000,000,000 for lending abroad, the administration intends also to increase the lending power of the Export-Import Bank by one and a half billion dollars. Again, the principal justification for the whole program seems to be the idea that by the spending of Government money we can meet the problem of unemployment in the United States.

I should like to make it clear that I believe in a public works program, but only for public works which are intrinsically of value, from which the public gets its money's worth. I believe in the ex-

tension of humanitarian measures, such as medical care, housing, and education, but only to the extent that they are justified by the improved conditions which they bring about, not as they are urged today by many.

Yesterday I read a book by Professor Hansen, in which, in effect, he urges all these social welfare measures, not for social welfare, but to create a vast Government spending program which will create employment. I believe in reasonable loans to foreign nations for rehabilitation, but only to the extent necessary that the foreign nations may put their own economic machinery in order.

I endorse 100 percent what the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] stated. I believe that the administration should tell us how much money it thinks we ought to lend after the end of the German war. I do not know how much assistance the British will require in conducting the Japanese war. I cannot believe it will be anything like the amount covered by the agreement to which I have referred. But certainly it seems to me that we should know the total outlay. I am willing to undertake reasonable loans for rehabilitation of foreign countries; but it has always seemed to me that if we lend perhaps two or three billion dollars the first year, a couple of billion the second year, and a billion the third, we shall have done about as much as we should do to help foreign nations get on their own feet.

What I object to is the theory, so widely advanced, that these programs can be justified on the ground that they are a method of spending public money, and that the American people can achieve prosperity only by spending themselves into prosperity. Not only is that theory unsound, but it ruins the programs themselves, because it destroys all discrimination in determining the soundness and the relative importance of various public works, of varying social welfare programs, and of different kinds of foreign trade and loans to various nations. It destroys the vital importance of designing and carrying out the programs in the most efficient and economical way.

But suddenly the whole basis for the theory has been undermined, and the administration, or those branches of the administration which still talk of pouring out Government money to make jobs, find themselves confuted by the expressions of their own colleagues. Even many loyal administration supporters have come to fear that the real danger after the war will be inflation rather than unemployment and depression.

The situation is wholly unlike that existing during the period following the last war. We have never had so many reserves of buying power in this country to stimulate economic prosperity. At the same time, 4 years of war produced a great backlog of demand to call those reserves into use for buying goods. When the war ends there will be perhaps \$40,-000,000,000 of series E bonds in the hands of middle- and lower-income groups. Many of them will be cashed. There is an excess of \$17,000,000,000 of currency in the hands of individuals. Individual deposits in savings banks and checking

accounts have increased by \$32,000,000,-000 over what they were before the war. That is a total of \$89,000,000,000 of liquid spending power in the hands of individuals alone. If the Government promptly settles its bills on the cancelation of contracts, corporation cash reserves will probably be at least \$20,000,-000,000 over normal pre-war cash.

We must consider that there is \$6,000,000,000 in State unemployment compensation funds ready to be paid out to the unemployed. There is a very liberal provision for unemployment compensation to discharged veterans. It may amount to as much as \$1,000 apiece. After the World War there was no unemployment compensation. We have provided liberally for loans to veterans to enable them to buy homes, farms, and businesses. If 4,000,000 of the 15,000,000 veterans take advantage of this privilege, \$10,000,000,000,000 of spending power will be produced.

There is another factor which is not generally considered. After the end of the German war we shall still be running at a deficit of \$35,000,000,000 a year while the war with Japan continues, and even after the war with Japan ends, expenses can be reduced only gradually to the normal budget, and there will probably be an accumulated deficit of \$25,000,000,000 more over 2 or 3 years before even a conservative government can reach a balanced budget.

Furthermore, foreign nations have large reserves even today, without any loans from this country or any further lend-lease aid. Mr. Eccles testified recently that there is \$10,000,000,000 of cash and earmarked gold in this country owned by foreign nations and their nationals, ready to be spent. That includes \$6,000,000,000 of short-term credits to which the Senator from Maine referred today. The total resources of foreign nations, in gold and dollars, and in short-term securities capable of being transferred into dollars amount to \$25 .-000,000,000. That is Mr. Eccles' testimony.

Of course, Mr. Eccles considered it necessary to place a limit on exports, or to make an allocation of exports, because he said that if we allow all this money to be spent at once in this country we shall produce a dangerous inflation.

Mr. Byrnes' report states that he has designated a committee to coordinate foreign shipments under Mr. Crowley to prevent the abuse of foreign buying power.

I noticed that only last Thursday Mr. Bernard Baruch, who is one of the best economic advisers in the country, made a statement in England that American servicemen would not have anything to worry about when they got home, and that "there will be more work in the United States than there will be hands with which to do it."

In short, the best opinion today fears inflation after the war rather than depression, except for a brief period of readjustment. Public works and other permanent projects will hardly get under way during that short period. It is important that all public bodies and corporations be ready to go ahead with repairs and replacements to meet the im-

mediate needs of those who cannot get work. The whole country is shabby and in need of repair. Estimates show that a number of billions of dollars can be spent simply in putting our present plants in first-class condition and providing the kind of temporary jobs we need; but a huge program of permanent public works would get going only in time to compete for materials with feverish activity in private industry. The logic of the situation is such that it destroys the spending-for-jobs or lending-for-jobs argument which has carried all before it up to this time.

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Mr. Byrnes' last report is exceedingly interesting. Incidentally he says, with reference to lend-lease:

These foreign countries have been able to expand their gold and dollar assets by more than \$8,000,000,000 since 1940.

There is only one way by which they have been able to expand their gold and dollar assets, and that is through the operation of lend-lease. The effect of lend-lease has been that we have given away most of what we export—about \$12,000,000,000 a year. We pay for most of what we import, about \$3,000,000,000 a year; and our soldiers are spending American dollars all over the world. We are paying the costs of occupation. All that money is gathered up, and builds up balances in the United States.

On the general subject Mr. Byrnes says:

The opportunities for reconversion and reemployment during the period from VE-day to VJ-day seem likely to surpass the reduction in munition output. The outlook in general indicates that the demand for labor will exceed supply. Manpower may well be a reconversion bottleneck in many localities.

He further states:

One thing is clear. We should not be stampeded into large public works programs.

Again he says:

We must be prepared to make loans to foreign countries which need American goods and cannot pay immediately, if there is a reasonable prospect of repayment. Loans made abroad, merely to provide employment at home, are unsound. They will produce international financial difficulties when the time comes for repayment.

That is the end of the quotations from Mr. Byrnes. All the quotations are from the report which Mr. Byrnes made the day before he resigned.

Mr. President, administration agencies such as the O. P. A. have been before us asking for the continuation of their power after the war, on the ground that it is necessary to prevent inflation. Mr. Eccles has advocated a tax on speculation. These demands are utterly inconsistent with the policy of those who insist upon a vast outpouring of public funds to create jobs.

What is this inflation which is feared? Everyone is familiar with the kind of inflation they had in Germany when prices increased to fantastic figures and money became of no value. They know the hardship and suffering, the destruction of savings and life-insurance values, the destruction of security, leading to a break-down of the whole system of government as well as business. But inflation can be very dangerous without reaching that ultimate catastrophe. In

1929 we had an inflation in which there was no increase in commodity prices or the cost of living. That is what fooled everyone. It was reflected in an abnormal increase in capital values and particularly in stocks, but it led to a complete distortion of values, to a violent depression, and to unemployment and hardship.

My own view is that we have inflation whenever we achieve a false prosperity by artificial means which cannot be indefinitely sustained and steadily increased. We may reach that condition by an undue expansion of private credit such as we had in 1929. But we can reach it more surely by Government spending and a huge deficit and an increase in public credit. Today we have arbitrarily held prices down to about a 30-percent increase over 1940. But wages have gone up more than that. Capital values in stocks and real estate, including farms and homes, are steadily increasing. How far controls can be effected in peacetime, whether any method can be devised to control capital values, is very doubtful. There is only one way that I know of to prevent inflation, and that is to stop Federal deficits, stop the further expansion of credit abroad, as well as at home, balance the budget, and control the excessive development of private credit.

We must, therefore, keep taxes reasonably high and reduce Government expenses, so as to stop a further increase in the public debt. We must encourage the development of private industry and build up foreign trade by sound means. But if we build them up by vast Government spending which cannot be permanently maintained without financial destruction, we are bound to create an inflation like that of 1929, even though we control commodity prices, and we will bring about in due time a worse depression than that of 1932.

Some of the economic planners admit in theory that the budget should be balanced over a period of, say, 10 years; but practically they plan deficits whenever they think that the national income or the level of employment is not sufficiently high. This means that they will be constantly justifying a constant further deficit. Furthermore, unless we plan a balanced budget in normal and somewhat subnormal times, we will never balance it at all. Government activities cannot be started and then stopped overnight. We saw that in the "emergencies" after the former depression. They go on steadily spending the cash. There is only one safe plan, and that is to pay our way as we go. If we run into a real depression we will have Government deficits without planning for them.

Our danger, as I see it, is that we will not recognize an inflation based on artificial stimulants, even though we are in the middle of it. In 1929 many intelligent men told us that we had reached a new era of permanent prosperity. The only way to prevent depressions is to maintain prosperity by sound methods, and avoid an inflation both of credit to private individuals and credit to the Government.

Mr. Fresident, at the present time there is a very strong Nation-wide propaganda deliberately promoted by the State Department and other Government agencies to sell the American people on the importance of foreign trade and on lending large sums of money in order to produce that foreign trade. Again they emphasize the necessity of exports in order to create additional jobs supposed to be needed in this country, and they appear to be willing to sacrifice all principles of economy and sound finance in order to promote exports. Vast loans by this Government are being proposed, as well as devices like Bretton Woods, which have the effect of loans.

I do not desire to depreciate the importance of foregin trade although I think some economists and politicians exaggerate it beyond all reason. This country happens to be largely self-sufficient, and exports have never, in recent decades, brought in more than 6 percent of the national income of this country. But an export trade which is based on lending money in large sums is pure inflation, and creates a wholly artificial activity bound to collapse in time with the most dangerous results. If the loans are in reasonable sums and can be repaid within a reasonable time, of course, the increased activity is legitimate; but if we were to go ahead with a program of lending approximately \$5,000,000,000 a year, we would simply give away the product of our workmen's labor and the product of our machines, because any loans in such a tremendous amount would never be repaid. Today such loans are mounting up to very substantial

In connection with lend-lease and the pending bill we start with apparently \$2,500,000,000 to France and \$5,500,000,-000 to Great Britain. More than half of that is loans. We apparently have, as I say, a contemplated loan to Russia. We have another billion and a half dollars in the Export-Import Bank and \$6,000,000,000 in Bretton Woods. With all the plans which are being concocted, I do not know what the total may be. I thoroughly endorse the demand of the Senator from Michigan that the administration get together all its plans for foreign lending and tell us what the total is, because it is impossible to pass on any one of these proposals until we have some kind of a picture of the whole thing and are able to form an intelligent judgment about how much we should lend and how much we should not lend. viously, if foreign nations have \$25,000,-000,000, there are many countries to whom we will not have to lend at all. On the other hand, there are no doubt other countries to whom we will have to lend. But take Great Britain. Today the British have in this country foreign balances equal to what they were when the war started, so far as gold dollars and short-term securities, net, are concerned. They have nearly a billion and a half dollars more than they had when lend-lease started in 1941. That does not necessarily mean that they are better off, because they owe a great deal more money all over the rest of the world. They owe billions of dollars to India, for instance. They owe billions of dollars to other countries which have not been lend-leasing all the supplies they have sent to Britain, as we have been doing; and there may be a case for some additional loan to Great Britain in order to put that nation on its feet in connection, perhaps, with the funding of the frozen sterling balances which are owed by many countries throughout the world.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The Senator is undoubtedly aware that the British Government is the largest individual holder of American securities in the world. On the first day after the declaration of war, the House of Commons passed an act by which all securities held by British nationals were taken over by the British Government. On that evening the House of Lords ratified the act. Britain has been making money all the time. There is no reason why she should not be in possession of large balances in addition to what she has received from lend-lease.

Mr. TAFT. My information is that at the beginning of the war Great Britain had in this country a considerable number of securities. She took over the securities of her nationals, as the Senator from Minnesota has said. Then she borrowed money from the R. F. C., which was secured by those securities. The net value of the securities which she had, on which she borrowed, was approximately a billion and a half dollars. Today she has approximately \$1,100,000,000 net, over and above the loan which she received from the R. F. C.

Mr. President, under present conditions and for many years to come, it is wholly impossible to expect any repayment of loans in the volume which is now being suggested. We had our experience in the twenties. Government post-war loans were followed by billions of private loans. When we finally woke up to the fact that none of those loans could be repaid we stopped lending. The result was the collapse of the whole artificial export trade which had been created, and an intensification of the 1932 depression. Surely with that experience before us we are not going to begin the process all over again, this time with the taxpayers' money instead of that of individuals. We ought to recognize that everything under lendlease up to this time has been a gift. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to wipe it off the books. We must recognize that post-war loans are likely to be repaid by only a limited number of countries, and ought to be undertaken only as humanitarian measures for relief and rehabilitation, and in very limited amounts.

As a matter of fact, the propaganda now being put out is just another phase of the spending theory, another method by which Government money can be lavishly distributed, on the same old theory that we can spend ourselves into prosperity. It is just as unsound as the undertaking of a vast public works programs at home, based solely on the theory that it will provide 60,000,000 jobs.

theory that it will provide 60,000,000 jobs. Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator just made the statement that so far as he was concerned he would be willing to wipe lend-lease off the books.

Mr. TAFT. I did not mean to wipe the Lend-Lease Act off the books, but to cancel the outstanding lend-lease obligation, whatever it may be.

Mr. McMAHON. I so understood the Senator. However, I think that this is a particularly unfortunate time for the Senator's statement to go out as expressing the sentiment of the Senate of the United States. I wish to register my dissent to any statement of that kind, because at this stage I am not prepared to take such action.

Mr. TAFT. I respect the Senator. cannot speak for him or for any other Member of the Senate. I expressed a similar opinion when we enacted the original Lend-Lease Act. At that time I said that, so far as the war was concerned, I was willing to make lend-lease a gift. I had never thought of the Lend-Lease Act in any way except in the sense of what actually could be repaid in kind during the war. There may be a few payments in kind which will be made after the war. Perhaps they should be made, but I do not think they will amount to much. It would be most unfortunate if the huge sum of approximately \$30,000,000,000, less approximately \$3,000,000,000 in reverse lend-lease, should hang as a debt over the world for years to come, as did the debts of the First World War.

After it became apparent that those debts could not be repaid and would not be repaid, I thought that they should be canceled. I have the same feeling with respect to the present lend-lease obligation. However, I speak only for myself and not for anyone else. I have no influence with the administration, so I cannot bring about the cancelation.

It is almost impossible to find out what the Government's program is for foreign lending. The bureaucrats have become so used to a lavish treatment of every foreign nation as to lose all sense of values. Lend-lease has been distributed not only for military purposes but for political purposes to every little nation in the world willing to say it is at war with Germany. Apparently there has been authorized a total sum of \$74,000,000,000 for lend-lease, of which only forty billion has been spent. The inclination of the administration is to use the balance for post-war loans, although the bill was enacted solely for war purposes. We have seen the French agreement covering two and a half billion dollars. More than one-half of this appears to be for permanent use, and hardly any of it will get to France before the end of the German war. Of course, the rest of it is to be paid for by France, but over a long period of years. In effect, the act is being used to make a post-war loan to France.

The administration is now denying that it intends any further use of lend-lease in this manner. Nevertheless, we know that Russia has applied for a long-term loan of \$6,000,000,000 and related it to the lend-lease program and expects to get it. There are well-substantiated rumors that Mr. Roosevelt has tentatively agreed that the British shall get six and a half billion dollars after the

end of the German war. Ostensibly this would be to help them wage the war against Japan, but practically a large part of it would be in effect a post-war loan.

We have already appropriated \$1,350,-000,000 for U. N. R. R. A. relief. We are being asked to increase the capital of the Export-Import Bank to \$2,200,-000,000. We are presented with the Bretton Woods agreements, under which we put in about \$6,000,000,000, more than one-half the good money in the two funds, all of which can be loaned out by boards controlled by the borrowers within approximately 2 years.

We are being urged today to give immediate approval to the Bretton Woods agreement. I think we are entitled to a comprehensive statement of the administration's policy of lending money abroad before we proceed further. What is the whole foreign need and how much can we safely lend or contribute with any chance of recovering it? How much do the foreign nations really need? Howmuch can they do for themselves, So far as I know, there has been no public statement of this situation, and even the facts are being concealed. Many members of the administration seem to be yearning to give away American money as well as American rights, and they do not want Congress to know about it.

Do the foreign nations need this money? Under the lend-lease policy there has been a steady increase in foreign balances. Mr. Eccles testified that today foreign nations and foreign nationals have \$25,000,000,000 in cash, gold, and short-term securities which can be used for purchases in this country. Mr. Byrnes has just said that foreign nations have built up their balances here by \$8,000,000,000 since the war started. Under lend-lease even the British have actually built up their balances in this country, until today it is estimated that the total of these balances and their net securities and investments approximates three and a half billion dollars, about the same as when the war started, and one and a half billion dollars more than when lend-lease began.

Of course, there are some countries with no cash, and even the British situation is not as good as it looks, because of vast sums owed to other countries. My point is that this situation ought to be viewed as a whole, and ought to be laid before Congress and the American people. Then we can adopt a reasonable program of foreign loans, enough to provide necessities for distressed people during the first year after the war, and to supply the materials and tools required to get their economic machinery in working order.

Many people are influenced in favor of foreign loans by the unconscious feeling that the world can be rehabilitated only by American dollars, and that we are now such a tremendously powerful and magnanimous nation that we can bring freedom from want to billions of people who have never enjoyed it. With due respect to the kindness and humanity of those who favor the pouring out of American dollars throughout the world, I believe this feeling is an evidence of our exaggerated self-confidence and national conceit. Of course, we can help,

but the only kind of help which is really effective is that which helps these other nations to help themselves. They must work out their own salvation. Their cities and public works can be better rebuilt with their own labor, curing their own problems of unemployment.

The prosperity of most people depends upon their own character. Some people with no natural resources, like the Scandinavians, have built a great civilization. Others with vast natural resources are still poverty-stricken. We can help by lending them the money to buy here the machinery and other products they have not the present means to manufacture.

Broadly speaking, I believe that a very few billion dollars wisely distributed can supply those nations without funds with sufficient aid for them to get going.

Many Americans feel that we can buy foreign good will. Frankly, I do not believe one can ever make a man his friend by lending him money, unless one intends to continue lending him more and more for all time to come. I do not believe that a nation which relies on another nation to assist it indefinitely is doing itself any good. In short, I do not believe that American dollars can make the world go round; and any government that has that idea can easily wreck the finances of this country and destroy our own standard of living, without doing anyone else any good.

Foreign trade, like domestic trade, can only be based soundly on an exchange of goods advantageous to both parties. That is, exports only benefit us if they are paid for by imports. How far are we willing to accept imports? There is plenty of general talk against the tariff, but it is very difficult to persuade Congress or the American people that we should make such reductions as to destroy any American industry and throw many men out of work, in order that we can import that kind of product and thereby export some other kind of American goods. What do we gain, it is asked, by importing our roller bearings from Sweden and putting the Timken Roller Bearing Co. out of business at Canton, Ohio? The Timken Co. tells me that without a tariff it cannot possibly compete with the Swedish manufacturers of roller bearings. Theoretically we could then perhaps export more automobiles to Sweden, and the men who now make roller bearings could go to work making automobiles. But do we gain enough by getting our roller bearings a little cheaper to make this change worth while? Do we not get too many eggs in one basket, like the automobile industry, and build up an economy based on an export trade which is much less stable than the home market?

The theory is that by finding markets for export trade we put men to work, and then have the additional purchasing power which can buy imported goods without decreasing the amount of domestic goods bought. That is an effective argument. But since it is admitted that exports are of no use unless paid for by imports, and that an American market must be created for those imports, why is it not just as easy to create an additional home market for home goods as it is to create an American market for imported goods?

The truth probably lies between the two extremes. Some additional market can be created for imported goods which is not available for domestic products. Those imported goods are presumably cheaper and may stimulate increased demand. But the idea that foreign trade soundly developed can produce any tremendous increase in employment, unless we are going to give away our products at the expense of the taxpayer, is a mirage.

There can certainly be no sound or permanent expansion of employment by the Government inflating exports by excessive loans, but only through the gradual building up by hard work of a foreign trade based on mutual advantage in the exchange of certain types of goods. I believe that a reasonable reduction in some tariff rates can encourage imports without destroying American industry. But, after all, imports depend more on prosperity in this country than they do on tariffs, if we can judge from the figures of 1928 and 1929. Our imports in those years, with almost the highest tariffs we have ever had, were greater than they have ever been before or since and a greater proportion of national income, far greater than they have been since the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act.

I have never been for that act for two reasons. First, it delegates complete legislative power to the Secretary of State to lower the tariff to 50 percent of the statutory rates without any standard fixed by Congress, and without any hearing to those whose business may be vitally affected. While it purports to authorize a special agreement with a particular country in return for benefits to the United States from that country under the most-favored-nation clause applies to all other countries, even those which make no concession to the United States.

I do not think we should return to congressional tariff making, but I do believe Congress should prescribe definite rules by which a board may reduce tariff rates after proper hearings. If further concessions are necessary to particular countries to enable them to establish a sound economy and secure tariff rates below those available to other nations, such agreements, I believe, should be submitted to Congress for approval.

I certainly am not willing to vote for the new proposal that the President be given authority, in his arbitrary discretion, to reduce statutory rates by 75 percent. I think it is perfectly reasonable, in trying to work out a world in which every nation may have markets available for its exports so that it can import essential goods, that we make special agreements with the nations without bringing into effect most-favored-nation clauses. By such special agreements we may also be able to assist the export of our agricultural products, a surplus of which is very difficult to prevent.

Mr. President, I wish to reaffirm my principal point, that inflation is the great danger we face in the post-war world, inflation arising out of the method by which we have financed the war, and the spending proclivities of the present administration. It can bring on a depression which may well destroy our entire

system. We ought to follow Mr. Byrnes, and get rid of the idea that we should plunge into a tremendous public-works program. We ought to follow Mr. Byrnes in his belief that "foreign loans made abroad merely to provide employment at home are utterly unsound."

We ought to get back to earth. This country is the same country it was when the war began. We can resume the progress of 150 years, and build up a happy people and a standard of living which will be the model for the world. We can move forward with more imagination and invention. We can steadily extend our system of humanitarian measures in old-age pensions, health, housing and education. We can encourage and promote foreign trade. But we can only achieve permanent progress if we base these actions on the same principles of sound finance which have made progress in the past, and not by blowing artificial bubbles of inflation from the scap of Government spending.

Mr. President, it seems to me that the attitude of the present administration toward lend-lease and toward all the rest of the foreign lending is one of scattering largess broadcast throughout the world. Apparently we have gotten a conception of dollars beyond all realities. We had to have a deficit because we could not possibly help it, but when the war ends we will have to turn back to the same principle we had before the war of balancing the Budget. We will have to get our ideas down from billions to millions, and we will have to impose restraints on operations of the kind involved here, which are provided for in language which contradicts itself and which I think defeats its own ends in this measure. We should get back to specific limitations on the character of loans which can be made and specific limitations on the amount of money which can be authorized for these various projects.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Morse in the Chair). The question before the Senate is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. On that question I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wonder if we could fix an early hour tomorrow for a vote on the lend-lease bill and all amendments thereto.

Mr. TAFT. I would object to fixing an hour for a vote. I should be willing to have debate limited fairly drastically, to 15 or 20 minutes to each Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know what the Senator from Texas has in mind about resuming the executive session immediately on our meeting tomorrow. I do think it is important that we dispose of the pending bill if we can do so without too much delay.

I ask unanimous consent that during the further consideration of the pending lend-lease bill no Senator shall speak more than once or longer than 15 minutes on the bill or any amendment thereto.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. TAFT. Reserving the right to object, does the suggestion mean an overall 15 minutes?

Mr. BARKLEY. No; it would mean 30 minutes in one speech; that is, on an

amendment and the bill the Senator could speak 30 minutes; after he had used 15 minutes on an amendment, he would have 15 minutes on the bill.

Mr. TAFT. There might be one other amendment I desired to offer. I may wish to approach the question from another point of view. I assure the Senator that I do not intend to delay in any way.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator would have the right to make one speech of 30 minutes, which could be made on any one amendment he wanted to offer.

Mr. WHITE. But he would have 15 minutes on any other amendment, as well.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, it was made clear earlier in the day that if we recess until tomorrow in legislative session, and then go into executive session tomorrow, the 24-hour requirement of the rule with reference to the offering of the resolution of ratification on the Mexican Treaty would be complied with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair holds that, so far as the executive session is concerned, it would be a new executive session.

Mr. BARKLEY. That serves the purpose, because we will recess as in legislative session, and then decide when we meet tomorrow whether we will finish the pending bill or go into executive session. I hope we can finish the consideration of the pending bill in a very short time.

There are no nominations on the Executive Calendar, therefore I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 10, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 9 (legislative day of March 16), 1945:

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named candidates for appointment in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service:

Willard H. Wright to be senior scientist, effective date of oath of office.

Dean A. Clark to be surgeon, effective date of oath of office.

Maurice LeBosquet, Jr., to be sanitary engineer, effective date of oath of office.

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY OF

#### TO BE MAJOR GENERAL

Brig. Gen. Benjamin Wiley Childaw (major, Air Corps; temporary lieutenant colonel, Air Corps; temporary colonel, Army of the United States, Air Corps), Army of the United States.

#### IN THE MARINE CORPS

Brig. Gen. Claude A. Larkin to be a major general in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 1st day of April 1945.

service, from the 1st day of April 1945.

Brig. Gen. William P. T. Hill to be a major general in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 1st day of April 1945.

Col. Ivan W. Miller to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 21st day of January 1945.

# House of Representatives

Monday, April 9, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Most holy Father, whose spirit broods over the hearts of men, fill our souls with the freedom of the children of God. "Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful, but his delight is in the law of the Lord and in His law doth he meditate day and night. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish." We praise Thee for the disclosure of the divine teaching; write it in our hearts, O Lord. When we are faint, Thy healing balm is near. When we are weary and stumble, Thy staff gives support. We pray Thee to keep us constant in our labors and manly in our bearing toward one another. Thou who hast given us home and country, all that the human soul should ask, may we use our blessings, not for self-aggrandizement but for the light and inspiration of others; and help us to apprehend more fully the eternal love of the infinite heart of our Heavenly Father. In the name of the Teacher of Nazareth. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 5, was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute to make an announcement.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce that I am informed the Appropriations Committee is not yet ready to report an appropriation bill. In view of this situation, there will be no legislative program for this week.

I therefor ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Howell] be permitted to extend his own remarks in the Record concerning our late colleague, Judge Heidinger, of Illinois, and include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

HOG PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? There was no objection.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, the farmers of Iowa are leaders in producing food for the Nation and our armed forces. Just now they are vitally concerned about our food production program as it relates to the production of hogs. Congress and the country should know that hog production and hog marketing thus far this year are far below the requirements of our war food production program and that the situation is not likely to improve in 1946 unless the \$13.75 floor price on hogs is restored without further delay.

Many reasons are being advanced for the lower production of hogs this year. One of the chief reasons is the fact that producers are losing faith in their Government. Too many promises have been broken in the past and the producer has now come to the point where he wants some definite assurances that he is going to be protected in the price of hogs if he is going to meet the food production goals. The producer has not forgotten that he was severely penalized in selling his hogs last year when they became overweight and he does not intend to be caught that way again. The unfair treatment afforded him simply made him turn away from hog production to other farm activities which gave him more assurance for the future.

To make matters worse, at the very time the hog producer was battling with this marketing problem, the floor price on hogs was reduced to \$12.50 per hundredweight and limited to 200 to 240 pound barrows and gilts. Not being satisfled with penalizing the hog producer on weights, the bureaucratic professors in Washington took a dollar and a quarter off of the floor price and in so doing completely demoralized the hog market. Little wonder then that the hog producer does not know which way to turn at the present time. He is intensely patriotic and wants to do his full part in producing the food needed to win the war. On the other hand he is entitled to know what kind of treatment he is going to be given by his Government if he continues to produce the hogs which he is expected to produce. He cannot be blamed for curtailing his hog production

in the light of his past unpleasant experience.

Our farmers are not asking for an unrestricted chance to get rich during the war emergency. Very few are asking for a subsidy, although there is much logic in their contention that if the meat packer is given a subsidy, similar treatment should be afforded the hog producer. Certainly if hog production needs to be encouraged by a subsidy, it should go direct to the producer and not to the processor.

In the last analysis, if we are to have a large production of meat in the form of pork, the old floor price of \$13.75 per hundredweight—Chicago basis—must be restored and all weight limits must be removed. In view of increased labor costs, higher cost of feed, and the shortage of manpower on the farm, the hog producer can see no future for himself unless he is granted an assurance of at least a \$13.75 floor. He then will know exactly what to look forward to in the months that lie ahead. Not only should he be protected now but he should have the further assurance that he will have some protection during the readjustment period following the war. In any event, he should be assured of the \$13.75 price for at least another year, preferably until December 1946.

Even the floor is advanced to \$13.75 at the present time, it will do little to stimulate any larger hog production this spring, but it will induce a larger fall pig crop. Therefore, time is of the essence if we are to have a larger production in the months ahead. The producer must of necessity plan immediately for breeding of sows for fall farrowing, so there must be no delay. It is generally agreed throughout the hog-producing territory that maintenance of the present floor price of \$12.50 per hundredweight-Chicago basis—on good to choice 200-270pound butchers will result in a smaller fall pig crop, but that a raise in the floor price to \$13.75 without weight limit will greatly encourage production.

Our farmers and hog producers are ready to go forward with the war food-production program of the Nation. Their past record shows that they have never shirked their responsibilities. All they ask is fair treatment at the hands of their Government, which, of course, means common-sense administration from those in Washington who are charged with the duty of food production.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

Mr. STEFAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the

# H. R. 2013

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 9 (legislative day, March 16), 1945 Ordered to be printed

## **AMENDMENT**

Proposed by Mr. Taft to the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, viz:

- 1 On page 2, strike out all after the word "reconstruc-
- 2 tion", in line 10, down to and including the word "recon-
- 3 struction" in line 20.

4-9-45---A

# AMENDMENT

Proposed by Mr. Tarr to the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

APRIL 9 (legislative day, March 16), 1945 Ordered to be printed

#### OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Legislative Reports and Service Section

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AJRICULTURE (Issued April 11, 1945, for actions of Tuesday, April 10, 1945)

(For staff of the Department only)

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#### SENATE

1. LEND-LEASE. Passed without amendment H.R. 2013, to extend the Lend-Lease Act for 1 year (pp. 3285-309). This bill will now be sent to the President.

Rejected amendments by:

Sen. Taft, Ohio, (39-40), to strike out the provision that contracts or agreements entered into in accordance with the Lend-Lease Act for articles, etc., for prosecution of the present war shall not be deemed post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction (pp. 3286-3300); and by

Sen. Langer, N. Dah., (28-46), to provide that nothing contained in the Lend-Lease Act shall be construed to authorize the manufacture for, or the disposition to, any foreign government, of any machinery, implements, or equipment suitable for use on the farm (pp. 3302-8).

Sens. Ellender, La., and Barkley, Ky., discussed cotton-cloth production abroad and the installation of American machinery in foreign plants for this purpose (p. 3293). Sen. Lauger, N.Dak., stated that "farmers are suffering for lack of farm machinery" (p. 3304).

2. SELECTIVE SERVICE; FARM LABOR. Sen. Willis, Ind., submittedam amendment to H.R. 2656 (to extend the Selective Training and Service Act for one year) which would reaffirm the Tydings farm-labor deferment amendment and which would provide for discharge from the armed services of farm laborers who had been inducted since Jan. 1, 1945 (p. 3284).

Sen. Gurney, S. Dak., stated that the Military Affairs Committee had "this morning reported a bill concerning farm deferments about as it appeared in... the nanpower bill" (no report noted in the Record however) (p. 3285).

3. EXPORTS. Sen. Butler, Nebr., inserted Lou Schneider's article relative to trade agreements among certain European countries which would ban U. S. exports (p. 3309).

4. FULL-EMPLOYMENT BUDGET. Sen. Murray, Mont., inserted several editorials describing the full-employment bills and Dr. Milton Gilbert's (Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce) article on national income (pp. 3309-15).

#### HOUSE

NOT IN SESSION. Next meeting Thurs., Apr. 12.

#### ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 5. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. Sen. Murray, Mont., inserted Jerome Walsh's address favoring the establishment of an MVA (pp. A1817-20).
- 6. HOUSING. Sen. Wagner, N. Y., insertêd a radio forum on the national housing program (pp. A1822-4).

## BILLS INTRODUCED

- '7. SURPLUS PROPERTY. S. 858, by Sen. O'Daniel, Tex., to permit direct sales of surplus property consisting of vehicles and small machinery to veterans for their use in earning a livelihood, and to give veterans a preference for 10 days in the purchase of such property; and
  - S. 859, to permit direct sales of surplus property consisting of vehicles and small machinery to farmers for their use in earning a livelihood, and to give farmers a preference for 10 days in the purchase of such property. To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 3284).
- 8. MOTION PICTURES. H.R. 2857, by Rep. Hoch, Pa. (Apr. 9), establishing a National Library of Motion Pictures, provides for the transfer of all functions, powers, duties, and property of any U. S. agency relating to the production and distribution of motion-picture films to the Library and for the distribution of films to schools, governmental, farm, and other organizations free of charge. To Library Committee.
- 9. VETERANS. S. 855 and S. 856.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 112 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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#### ITEM IN FEDERAL REGISTER April 10, 1945

10. FLAG DISPLAY President's Proclamation 2645, directing Government officials to display the flag on all Government buildings on May 22, 1945, National Maritime Day (p. 3793).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr.11: S. Agriculture, food investigation; S. Appropriations, agricultural bill (ex.); H. Foreign Affairs, lend-lease extension.

honorably discharged from the service. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prevent any person so discharged from being subsequently reinducted into the land or naval forces, if such person at any time after his discharge ceases to be eligible for deferment under section 5 (k) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended."

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, in connection with the amendment I wish to inform the Senate, especially the Senator from Indiana, that the Committee on Military Affairs this morning reported a bill with the language concerning farm deferments about as it appeared in one section of the manpower bill. In other words, the Military Affairs Committee this morning gave favorable consideration to the question just raised by the Senator from Indiana, and reported to the Senate today a House bill, with a change in the bill as it passed the House incorporating the language of the provision in the manpower bill as it was agreed to in conference.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I am aware of the action taken by the Committee on Military Affairs, but the measture to which the Senator refers is a separate bill, and will require passage by both Houses of Congress, and, as I understand, the signature of the President, before it may become effective. Is not

that correct?

Mr. GUPNEY That is correct.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.
Mr. WILLIS. Therefore I am offering this amendment, which contains the same language, as a part of the bill to extend the Selective Service Act.

RADIO FORUM ON NATIONAL HOUSING PROGRAM—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ELLENDER

[Mr. WAGNER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address by Senator Ellender and discussion on the radio forum conducted by the American Federation of Labor on national housing program, which appear in the Appendix.]

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR DOMESTIC EM-PLOYEES—ARTICLE BY ARTHUR J. ALTMEYER.

[Mr. WAGNER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Social Security for Domestic Employees," written by Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, and published in the January issue of the Social Security Bulletin, which appears in the Appendix.]

MUST 10,000,000 AMERICANS STAY POOR?—ARTICLE BY SENATOR PEPPER

[Mr, PEPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Must 10,000,000 Americans Stay Poor?" written by him and published in the Magazine Digest for May 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

### POLICE CAR CONSERVATION AND SAFETY PROGRAM

[Mr. BARKLEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement on the subject Police Car Conservation and Safety Program, issued by the Automotive Safety Foundation of Washington, D. C., which appears in the Appendix.]

CONTINUATION OF PAY OF MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCES FOR 12 MONTHS FOL-LOWING DISCHARGE

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, on March 6, 1945, I introduced Senate bill 675, to provide that all service men and women on honorable discharge from the armed forces of the United States shall be entitled to 1 year's pay at regular monthly periods as a means to enable the veterans of this war to make their personal readjustments to post-war economic conditions.

This bill will in no way affect the existing law as to mustering-out allowances, nor will it supplant any of the provisions of the so-called G. I. bill of rights or other measures enacted for the benefit of veterans of World War No. 2.

This proposal, which incidentally has received the unanimous approval of the Pennsylvania State Senate—Democrats and Republicans alike—and which is now in the course of receiving the approval of the Pennsylvania State Assembly, is designed to serve as a bridge between the present period of wartime employment in the armed forces of the United States and the coming period of full post-war employment.

Every Member of this body knows that full American post-war employment is a political, social, and economic necessity for the United States and for the world.

That is because, without full American production in the post-war period not only this country, but the rest of the world will fall into chaos.

Here alone on the face of the world are the industrial resources, unimpaired and manned by trained labor, with which to meet the demand for civilian goods of every kind needed for the world's reconstruction and rehabilitation.

If those civilian goods are not produced, the rest of the world will literally face economic catastrophe and social chaos, with political repercussions which might well nullify the victory of the United Nations in this war against the

Full American production can only be made possible only by full American employment. Certainly I cannot see the Congress or public opinion permitting the mass export of American goods and services if the American people themselves are unemployed and in need of relief. From the point of view of just, intelligent selfishness, full employment is necessary to protect the people and the Treasury of the United States. If we have mass unemployment after V-E day, the American people will be forced to turn their V bonds into the Treasury for cash with which to pay their bills and meet their living expenses.

The average American has not made money during this war. He has merely made a living, and he has turned his small savings into War bonds which are payable on demand at the Treasury of the United States. If he loses his job, he will have no choice. He must cash his War bonds. You and I know very well what that would do to the Treasury and to the public welfare. It would compel the Treasury to borrow further from the banks billions of dollars, and the release of those billions into circulaton would create a condition of inflation that would raise prices cruelly, while misery itself remained unabated.

It would indeed be unfortunate if our people were given grounds for the belief

that only war brings real prosperity, and peace the return of mass-misery, masspoverty, and mass-unemployment, such as ravaged our people in the years of depression.

One thing more should be mentioned in connection with my bill. That is that this measure is absolutely opposed to paternalism. It gives to the individual veteran a chance to plan his own postwar career, a chance to make his own post-war readjustments.

It does so without referring him to any Federal bureau, groups of social workers, psychoanalysts, or bureaucrats, either State or national; and without submitting his plans and hopes to the will of any political planners. In other words, let the veterans do their own planning, and let us be content with making the arrangements by which they can do that planning.

. We know that we must have full employment if we are to avoid trouble at home. We know that we must have full production if the war-torn areas of the world are to escape chaos, catastrophe and social revolution, which will affect also our own people.

We trusted our boys to take north Africa, and they took it.

We trusted our boys to take Guadalcanal, and they took it.

We trusted our boys to invade France,

and they invaded France.

We trusted our boys to liberate the Philippines, and they liberated the Philippines.

We trusted our boys to take Iwo Jima, and they took Iwo Jima.

We trusted our boys to cross the Rhine, and they crossed the Rhine.

We trust our boys finally to take Berlin and Tokyo and to end once and for all the threat of Axis slavery in the world.

We should trust our boys to make their own post-war plans and readjustments, to make peace more prosperous than war, and to make their return happier than their departure.

It is my intention to ask hearings before the Senate Military Affairs Committee on this proposal to place in the hands of the individual servicemen themselves the choice of how they intend to do this. It is my firm belief that the Government of the United States should not attempt to regulate or even to define the details of what the veterans decide to do when they come home from this war.

Let service men and women decide what they want to do in the reconversion period. Give them as their due, a year's pay in regular monthly installments, and let them do the deciding. This is their country. They fought for it. They saved it for all of us.

My bill is a simple, practical proposal to bring them back to it, on their own terms, and not on ours, and to permit them to make their own world.

#### EXTENSION OF LEND-LEASE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2013) to extend for a period of 1 year an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], which will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed on page 2, line 10, after the word "reconstruction", to strike out the semicolon and the words "Except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, postwar rehabilitation or post-war reconstruction," and insert a period.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, yesterday I offered the amendment which has just been stated, and spoke at some length on it. I shall briefly review what the question is.

My proposal is to strike out on page 2 all of the second part of the proviso. The proviso reads:

Provided, however, That nothing In section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

I do not see why we should not say "period" at that point. That is the principle upon which the Congress has agreed, it was the principle contained in the Lend-Lease Act, it was the principle to which, so far as I can see, every Senator on this floor agrees, that nothing shall authorize the President to use the lend-lease arrangement for entering into a contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

It is proposed that there be an exception. This is the language:

Except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

All that has to be done in order to nullify the first part of the proviso is for the President to act under the provision that when he finds the articles are no longer necessary, he may sell them to the other government on credit. All he has to do is to insert that provision in a lend-lease contract, and the first sentence, namely "that nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign

government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction" is immediately nullified.

Not only that, Mr. President, but such action has been actually taken in the French agreement. Under the French agreement our Government is to give two and a half billion dollars to France, in the way of supplies, which have no direct connection with the operation of the war, but are primarily for civilian relief and rehabilitation and for the rehabilitation of the French railroads, which no doubt would be useful if the war were still in progress in Europe 12 months from this time, but obviously not useful for any immediate purposes.

We have built up our own railroads in France, and are transporting the supplies to the front ourselves. We do not need a great many French locomotives and French cars for that purpose. We have actually made an agreement which purports to cover materials for use in the war, and yet, obviously, from the very circumstances of the case, particularly with the German to end in a short time, it is primarily a contract for post-war relief and rehabilitation. It is excepted from the prohibition by the exception under which, when the war ends, the President may sell all the articles to the French on 30 years' credit. That is simply a nullification of the first part of the proviso.

It seems obvious to me that if Congress means that lend-lease is not to be used for post-war relief and rehabilitation, it should say so in clear terms. I have yet to hear any reason why the last part of the proviso should remain in the bill.

Mr. President, on the amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I shall support the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio.

In fighting this war it has been necessary for the Congress to delegate vast powers to the Executive and to the various agencies and departments of Government in order that the resources, the manpower, and the wealth of this mighty Nation might be mobilized to prosecute the war on a global scale never before attempted in human history. So far as I am concerned, I voted for each and every proposal delegating to the Executive such power as I believed to be justified by the facts and the evidence presented, and as being essential to the successful conduct of this terrible war. Nevertheless, I have wherever possible insisted that the Congress should limit the period for which those powers were delegated, and, insofar as I could successfully do so as an individual Senator, I have sought to insist that the delegation of such powers should be separated and should be terminated at the conclusion of the war, or within a reasonably short time thereafter.

Mr. President, I have taken this position because I am convinced, from such study as I have been able to give to the history of this country, and to the effect of war upon the accretion of power in the executive arm of the Government, that in view of the vast powers which we have been required to yield up to the

Executive to enable him to conduct a war of the complexity, distance, and magnitude of that now being waged, the question of the restoration of the balance of power as between the executive and the legislative arm of the Government is one which tests the ingenuity and the courage of the representatives of the people in Congress assembled.

In supporting the proposal offered by the Senator from Ohio, I do not wish to be placed in the position of saying in advance that I am not in favor of this mighty Nation doing its full share to bring about, so far as is humanly possible, a revival of economic activity and prosperity in the world. But, Mr. President, I am convinced that unless the amendment shall be adopted the Congress will be yielding up for the post-war period authorization for a program of rehabilitation which, save for the one control insofar as the total amount of appropriations is concerned, is unlimited in character.

Mr. President, I have confidence that a majority of both Houses of Congress will be generous in voting to contribute to the rehabilitation of the post-war economies of the nations which have been devastated by this horrible conflict; but the determination and the policy making should be the primary responsibility of the Congress. I say in passing that I do not believe that the cause of continuity, insofar as the policy of this Government is concerned, toward economic cooperation in the world will be served unless the representatives of the people make the determination as to how much and as to how far this country should go in that direction.

Mr. President, each generation as it comes on in a country has a tendency to think of the Nation in terms of the economic environment of the preceding generation. The Creator lavishly endowed the portion of the North American Continent which has now come to be the United States of America, insofar as its natural resources are concerned; but in the course of the development and exploitation of those natural resources we have followed a policy which only in recent years has been in anywise reversed, namely, a policy of profligate and wasteful development and exploitation. The natural resources of a country are the fundamental base which determines the standard of living and the cultural as well as the economic development of its people. I do not believe that even Senators and Representatives who have tried to follow the course of the conduct of this war have any appreciation of the extent to which our natural-resource base has been depleted, to mention not at all the enormous indebtedness which we have incurred and will continue to incur before this war comes to its conclusion.

Mr. President, the Congress should have an opportunity to face a complete and comprehensive schedule to determine what this Nation is willing and able to do—and I emphasize the word "able." We should have a complete and comprehensive statement of what is proposed to be the contribution of this Nation to the rehabilitation and restoration of the devastated nations of the world. We

shall never obtain that from the executive branch of the Government if we continue to enact legislation which permits that branch to extend beyond the actual conduct of the war exclusive executive control over the commitments which are to be made so far as rehabilitation and relief abroad are concerned.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the

Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will yield in a moment.

All that the amendment of the Senator from Ohio does, as I see it, is to make certain that when the time comes for the Congress to determine upon what the Nation is willing and able to do as its full and generous contribution to the problem of rehabilitating the world, it will force the executive to come back to Congress and to permit the policy-making arm of government, under our Constitution, to discharge its responsibility.

I now yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I do not see how anyone can take exception to the Taft amendment or the statement of the Senator from Wisconsin. We hear it said on all sides that as soon as the war is over we must recapture the powers which have been delegated to the executive department and get democracy back on a firm footing. I cannot think of any power which has been granted that is wider in scope or more quantative in its riches than the power of lend-lease without restraint in the post-war period. Consequently I think there is an argument to be made to fortify the position of the Senator from Ohio, to wit, that whatever advantage our country may enjoy at the peace table, whether it be in the idealistic sphere or the material sphere, ought not to be given away in advance. Therefore, if we say in advance, "You may have almost anything you ask for which we are able to give within reason," we shall have lost a tremendously important psychological weapon at the peace conference.

Like the Senator from Wisconsin, I want to be generous in the post-war period, but I do not want to sign a blank check for use after the war is over. The blank-check era ought to end with the cessation of hostilities, and therefore we ought to know what we are doing before

we give hostages to fortune.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the able Senator from Maryland. We have already adopted and agreed to U. N. R. R. A. and have made substantial appropriations therefor, and we have made vast and staggering appropriations for lend-lease. Yet it developed before the Foreign Relations Committee that in some foreign countries neither of these organizations is now able to operate. Upon questioning Mr. Crowley, I was informed that they are working "downtown," as he put it, on a program to take care of that situation.

Mr. President, I do not wish any Senator to think that I am saying the Senate should adopt this amendment for the purpose of preventing action in this field. I am, on the contrary, saying that the only way Congress is ever going to obtain

a comprehensive statement and recommendation from the executive branch of the Government to cover the vast field and the complex problems which are created by the devastation of war, is to take the position that we insist that this policy must be determined by the Congress, and that the officials in charge must come back to Congress and obtain authorization and authority for it.

One more word, Mr. President, and then I am done. May I say that vast as are the resources of this Nation we have materially reduced our resource base in the conduct of this global war? The capacity of the country to discharge the obligations and the desire which it has to do its full share in the post-war world will be directly limited by the extent to which the domestic economy of this vast Nation is successfully reconverted to peacetime activity and it becomes possible to discharge whatever commitments we make, I can think of nothing which would more seriously impair the future foreign relations of the United States than for it to become committed to a program which was beyond the capacity of the Nation to discharge.

The only way we can weigh that problem, complex as it is, is to have it presented in a comprehensive form, as the Constitution intended to the policymaking arm of the Government, where it can be reviewed in its entirety, instead of having it proposed by a number of different executive agencies piecemeal, each, perhaps, working on it independently.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio will be adopted. I wish also, in conclusion, to make it clear that nothing I may have said is to be taken nor is my vote to be taken, as indicating any lack of confidence in the present Administrator of the F. E! A.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the matter of lend-lease extension goes deep into the heart of our future foreign policy, United Nations war plans, and our domestic program.

I was one of those who, prior to Pearl Harbor, voted against the establishment of the lend-lease program. On March 24, 1941, I stated:

I have every sympathy with the objectives which this (lend-lease) appropriation may further.

However, my conscience required that I vote against the pre-Pearl Harbor lend-lease appropriation, even though, as I stated:

I realize that this appropriation measure will pass. I realize also that there will be further requests for billions and that Congress is liable to make these appropriations without any hesitancy and with comparatively little thought unless the people of this country wake up.

My reasons for voting against lendlease at that time were stated as follows:

1. As a protest against the President's failure to inform Congress what steps he is taking to secure collateral security for the people.

2. Because I believe that the appropriation is not backed up by a realistic tax program.
3. Because of the utter lack of any disposition on the part of the administration to cut down on nondefense items.

4. As a protest against the laxity, yes, in some instances criminal negligence, of the administration in handling the people's money.

money.

5. Because the power of the Congress with reference to appropriations and other matters has become synonymous with the "must" requests or dictates of the Chief Executive.

6. Because billions of dollars do not grow on berry bushes.

The reasons which I advanced have stood the test of time. However, December 7, 1941, came and with it Pearl Harbor. Like many of my colleagues, I willingly overlooked the aforementioned compelling reasons and therefore consistently voted for every cent of lendlease money requested of Congress during the period of the war.

Today the matter of lend-lease extension again faces us. Again there are many dangers implicit in this situation. Some of these dangers are new, some are the same that I originally stated 4 years

ago.

What are they? They are:

First. We may by premature termination of lend-lease weaken the ability of our allies to render us real assistance in the elimination of the German foe and in the prosecution of the war effort in the Pacific.

Second. We may, by making financial commitments abroad in no fewer than nine separate categories, such as through U. N. R. R. A., through direct credits, through the Export-Import Bank, through lend-lease, and so forth, indulge in the same folly of duplicating, conflicting, and overlapping effort that we have so disastrously indulged in on the home front throughout the period of the present administration.

Third. We may be continuing the dangerous, strictly wartime system of blanket authorizations to the Chief Executive.

Fourth. We may be building up foreign nations for an awful let-down by making greater promises than the United States, with its limited and already greatly extended resources, can fulfill.

Fifth. We may by reckless spending be courting our own financial insolvency.

Sixth. We may be attempting to spoon feed particular nations and thus abuse their inherent pride and self-respect and inevitably bring down upon our own heads their wrath and indignation.

Seventh. We may, by an over-abrupt termination of our lend-lease contracts, cause a profound dislocation of our internal economy. I wish to stress this point, because I shall have something to say about it in relation to Mr. Crowley's comments.

Eighth. We may, by an arbitrary reorganization of our foreign-aid instrumentalities, take away from the hands of practical and experienced men the job of administering our foreign-aid program.

I believe these dangers can be met in the following manner:

First. We must help our allies to render us real assistance in achieving victory in the west and in the Far East.

Second. We must receive from the Chief Executive a total, coherent picture of all the instrumentalities by which

America will be extending foreign aid. Such a picture must define in a clear-cut precise manner the projected amounts of revenue required from America, the sources of such revenue, the uses of such revenue, the time periods involved, and so forth.

Third. We must at the earllest possible moment restore our American system of checks and balances and establish all our foreign aid upon the basis of specific congressional authorization of money.

Fourth. We must make abundantly clear to the foreign nations the true extent to which we intend and are capable of aiding them in order that they may proceed with their own plans on the soundest possible basis, and may not come to expect more than we can fulfill.

Fifth, We must establish our own domestic and foreign financial system upon the most solvent of bases, and must take into account the true financial abilities of foreign nations.

Sixth. We must help our allies to help themselves and to have their problem solved through their own efforts in order that they may maintain their own pride and self-respect.

Seventh. In planning for the termination of lend-lease contracts we must be certain that we are not putting our own Government or our own private contractors out on a limb. As promised to us by Mr. Leo Crowley, we will have the option to cancel unfulfilled lend-lease contracts at the time of cessation of European hostilities. We must be able to deal on an equitable basis without domestic manufacturers with whom we have made lend-lease contracts.

Eighth. We must keep the business of foreign aid in the hands of men who have proven their practical ability to discharge their responsibilities in the manner the Congress decides and demands.

These, then, are the issues and the suggested means by which we may effectively face those issues.

Mr. President, since Pearl Harbor I have, as I have stated, considered lendlease as a great war instrumentality. Since that time I have supported every extension of lend-lease. It places, and it has placed, in the hands of Government tools with which it can act quickly and efficiently without the need of going through the legislative process. Nations at war cannot stop to deliberate. They must act quickly; they must have the tools, the means, the money, the men, the power. Lend-lease makes it possible for the executive branch of the Government to take effectively any and all measures necessary to the effective prosecution of the war. In other words, for the war period lend-lease does away with the checks and balances which it is so important to maintain and retain in peacetime, lest liberty itself be jeopardized.

We are told that the war in Europe will soon be over. How long it will be, I do not know and I think no one knows. The question before the Senate is whether, we should make it possible for the Executive in the liquidation of lendlease contracts to exercise, after the war in Europe is over, lend-lease powers which will operate indirectly in the rehabilitation of the devastated countries of Europe, or whether Congress should insist that in the rehabilitation of such European countries it should act specifically upon the money needs or loans for each.

That matter was discussed in committee, and assurance was given by Mr. Crowley that the moment the war terminated no more contracts would be made for lend-lease. He recognized, he said, that lend-lease was a war measure. not a peacetime measure. He also brought out clearly that under the socalled 3 (c) contracts which have been mentloned in the Senate, such as the one with France if we pass the pending lendlease extension bill without the Taft amendment there will be power in the hands of the Lend-Lease Administrator to liquidate lend-lease contracts.

Let me use an illustration: Suppose that under lend-lease powers our Government has made a contract to sell France 50 locomotives, suppose it has made a corresponding contract with our locomotive-production plants, and suppose that 25 of the locomotives have been delivered, and then the war comes to an end. The 25 locomotives which are in France belong to America, but there is an outstanding contract for 25 other locomotives which France would like to have. Under the 3 (c) contracts, we have the option of canceling the contract or of permitting France to buy the locomotives. The lend-lease locomotives which have been delivered will have deteriorated in part. Who will be in the best position to handle that liquidation? The answer must be that the Lend-Lease Administrator will be in the best position to do so.

The locomotives are in France. we cancel the contract they will belong to us. We must bring them back to America. France needs them. Provision has been made to enable her to buy them. We will, as I say, deal through the Lend-Lease Administrator. So, if it is to the best interests of this country to do so, not only will the 25 locomotives which are in France be sold to France, but the 25 locomotives which have not yet been produced will be produced, thereby providing work for both labor and industry in America.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield. Mr. TAFT. It is obvious that the Lend-Lease Administrator can dispose of the locomotives as surplus property, and if the Export-Import Bank, or some other agency, will give France a 30-year credit, or if France can obtain a loan from the new international bank, she can offer cash to buy that material and surplus property. My objection is to the power proposed to be given to lend money for 30 years in the amount of approximately two and one-half billion dollars. That is the difficulty with the portion of the proviso which I am trying to have stricken out.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. WILEY. I shall take time on the bill.

Mr. President, it appears to me that it is six of one and half a dozen of the

As a practical proposition—I other. heard Mr. Crowley outline it in the committee—it seems to me that in this bill it is specifically provided that when the war ends the Lend-Lease Administrator may not make any more contracts, but can liquidate the contracts already made. By the bill it is provided that he shall be the liquidating agent of the Government. As the distinguished Senator from Ohio has suggested, the problem could be handled otherwise. France could obtain credit from the Export-Import Bank, or perhaps from some other agency. Let us be practical about it and see how it would work. Twenty-five locomotives are in France. Twentyfive locomotives are on the production line in America. The Lend-Lease Administrator handles the transaction. It is typical of hundreds of similar transactions. We do not want the locomotives to be brought back to America. are parties to a contract under which France may buy them. Let us assume that we do not give the power which it is proposed to give. At the end of the war we shall have 25 locomotives. Someone must negotiate for their disposal. Who shall it be? Shall It be someone who has had nothing to do with the locomotives? Very well. Someone must see that France is given credit. Which agency shall it be? It is not determined. There will be delay after delay. property will deteriorate. It seems to me that we are faced with a practical question.

I agree with everything which has been said by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and my distinguished colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FoL-LETTE] about the necessity of seeing to it that the executive power is not en-

Yesterday I said on the floor of the Senate:

I also recommend to the committee consideration of the subject of what functions, which during the depression era and during the war the Federal Government has taken over, should be returned to the States. It is conceded by everyone that the Members of the House and the Senate are overburdened by many matters which divert their attention from national policy making and which it should not be the business of a legislator to consider. If this committee would recom-mend that the functions of government which belong to the States and the local communities be returned to the States and communities, and that were done, I think would find that Congress could do a much better job in legislative matters which, after all, is its primary function.

Since coming to the Senate I have taken the position that this body should make sure that the executive branch does not overreach and assume power which it should not have. I have seen great nations such as Germany, Italy, and others, go down under the impact of power which had been granted to an individual or individuals. But that is not the situation here. We stop lendlease when the war ends. But we say to the Administrator, "Mr. Administrator, you know this job better than anyone else. You have been handling these materials. They are in France. We do not want you to ship them back to America. You sell them."

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.
Mr. TAFT. Of course, any materials now in France were delivered under the agreement, and they are not covered by the proposed amendment. The amendment applies only to materials which have not yet been shipped. So far as locomotives are concerned, I suggest that there may be great use for them in this country.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield? Mr. BARKLEY. In that connection, it might be observed that Mr. Crowley said that while the locomotives may have been delivered, title to them is in the United States, and that when the war ends the United States must determine what it will do with the materials which have been delivered. Materials in that category are no different from materials which have not been delivered, because the Government must dispose of them in the same way.

Mr. WILEY. The Senator from Kentucky is correct. The title to all lendlease property is in the United States. The only distinction is that, assuming the locomotives have been used for 6 months, they will have deteriorated considerably. It would be the duty of the Administrator to decide on a fair price

for them.

Mr. President, I am thinking about other angles. If all at once we say that we will cancel all contracts applying to the future, what will such action mean to our industries and our labor? Consider, for example, the 25 locomotives about which I have been talking; if we cancel the contract we shall have a problem on our hands with the manufacturers of the locomotives. The manufacturers will have a claim against the United States Government. Men will be out of work and material will not be used. As I have already said, I think it is "six of one and a half dozen of the other."

I was very much impressed with the argument which was made by my distinguished colleague and friend the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. In most cases I go along with him; but I think that in this case we are making mountains out of mole-hills. We are merely saying to this great agency, which has done such a great job, "You are the liquidating agency. We give you the power to liquidate, and we hold you responsible." I am familiar with the question of administration. Hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property have been sent to various parts of the globe by the Lend-Lease Administrator. Are we going to put that property into the hands of someone else for disposal? Are we going to cut off suddenly the power of the Administrator, and then turn the matter of surplus property over to some other agency, or are we going to let the Lend-Lease Administrator, who has been in entire control of the whole situation up to now, do the job?

Mr. President, I have just one more word to say. A statement was made yesterday by my great friend from Ohio about forgiving lend-lease. One of the

arguments recently made in the press was with regard to America's need of the great island bases which we are now conquering. If we have claims against other nations for \$36,000,000,000, for example, I am not in favor of wiping the slate. I am in favor of having a Churchill, or some good Scotsman bargain for us, and say to our allies, "We have these claims against you. We want to be just, but we peed these outer bases as bulwarks for our defense." In other words, we should use every claim which we have in a realistic manner in order to insure that our people will not be sold down the river.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.
Mr. TAFT. Does the Senator think,
for example, that the Surplus Property Administrator will ever say to France, "If you want lend-lease, you must give us New Caledonia?" If such a thing were to be done, the Administrator might have to provide accordingly for it in the agreement before giving away two and a half billion dollars' worth of lend-lease. I question the advisability of the course suggested by the Senator from Wisconsin, and I am quite certain the present administration will not follow it.

Mr. WILEY. There is no question in my mind that there are certain persons in the administration who will agree with the Senator's conclusion. But, Mr. President, we are trustees of the people's values. The money which we are loaning, indeed, which we are giving away, does not belong to-this administration or to this body; it belongs to the 136,-000,000 people of the United States, and we must be a little bit realistic in approaching these world problems.

Yesterday the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] asked for the prayers of this body when he goes forth to San Francisco. The people are praying that this body will wake up and that the administration will wake up to a sense of trusteeship of the things which we control on behalf of all the

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I fear that there exists a total misconception of the purpose of the provision in the bill extending lend-lease which is now before the Senate and which the Senator from Ohio seeks to eliminate.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? I should like to make a point of no quorum, if the Senator does

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator. Mr. LUCAS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Bushfield	Ellender
Austin	Butler	Ferguson
Bailey	Byrd	` Fulbright
Ball	Capehart	George
Bankhead	Capper	Gerry
Barkley	Chandler	Green
Bilbo	Chavez	Guffey
Brewster	Connally	Gurney
Brlggs	Cordon	Hart
Brooks	Donnell	Hatch
Buck	Downey	Hawkes
Burton	Eastland	Hayden

Hickenlooper	Moore	Taft
Hill	Morse	Taylor
Hoey	Murdock	Thomas, Okla.
Johnson, Calif.	Murray	Thomas, Utah
Johnson, Colo.	Myers	Tobey
Johnston, S. C.	O'Daniel	Tunnell
La Follette	O'Mahoney	Tydings
Langer	Overton	Vandenberg
Lucas	Pepper	Wagner
McCarran	Radcliffe	Walsh
McClellan	Reed	Wheeler
McFarland	Revercomb	Wherry
McKellar	Russell	White
McMahon	Saltonstall	Wiley
Magnuson	Shipstead	Willis
Millikin	Smith	Wilson *

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President. I wish to thank the Senator from Illinois for the good intentions which he exhibited in making the point of no quorum in the hope that a sufficient number of Senators would be on the floor while this important matter is being discussed to make it worthwhile to discuss it; but there are not as many on the floor now as there were when the Senator made his point of no quorum.

I do not know what has happened to the Senate of the United States. I regret to say what I am going to say, but it seems to me that it has reached an alltime peak in irresponsibility of attendance on the floor of the Senate. We can get but few Senators to come here while there is under consideration one of the most important matters that will be before the Senate in weeks, involving billions upon billions of dollars worth of property; and when the debate has been concluded Senators will come trooping in, asking somebody at the door what the Senate is voting on and how they should vote. It does not present a very encouraging picture of deliberation in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. I was under the impression that the Senate was going to consider for the next 2 weeks the Mexican Water Treaty. That may be the reason why many of our colleagues are not

Mr. BARKLEY. We had up the lendlease bill all vesterday afternoon; we entered into an agreement for a limitation of debate. Any Senator who read the RECORD must know that we recessed in legislative session with this matter before the Senate. The fact that we had pending a treaty, which was laid aside yesterday under the rules because it had to be laid aside, it seems to me offers no excuse for the chronic absenteeism on the floor of the United States Senate.

Senators have come to me during the last few days by dozens and asked me what we could do to improve attendance in the Senate. If someone will tell me what to do, I shall be happy to cooperate in doing it. If there is anyone now present on the floor of the Senate who disagrees with what I am saying, I shall yield to him to rise and controvert it.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the point I tried to make a while ago-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. The point was that all of us-I know that I was under such an impression—thought that for the next 2 or 3 weeks the Senate would be considering the Mexican treaty, and with that in mind I expected to leave for Louisiana this evening. If our distinguished majority leader had told us a week ago what the program would be, I would not have made that appointment for this week.

Mr. BARKLEY. I appreciate the Senator's comments upon that subject. Each Senator has control of whether he remains here or not, but it is discouraging for those who try to legislate in the Senate to find continually Senators' places empty, and the Senate Chamber empty, and no one here to listen, even during the consideration of a treaty as important as the treaty with Mexico. I do not think the consideration of a treaty offers any excuse for wholesale absenteeism on the part of the Senators of the United States.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not disagree with the distinguished majority leader, but he has asked for a suggestion. It seems to me that if the committee chairmen would not schedule committee meetings for afternoons, we would have a much better attendance. I am sure the Senator will find that half the United States Senate this afternoon is in one committee or another. I know I personally had two meetings scheduled. They are both important; sometimes they seem more important than some of the speeches I hear on the floor of the Senate: k t I think that if we could work that out, we would have much better attendance.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know, and I have no way of knowing, what committees are in session when the Senate itself is in session. Except in the greatest of emergencies, committees should not be in session when the Senate is in session. It seems to me that in behalf of the Senate itself, out of respect to appearances, and the impression derived by men and women who come to the Senate and look down upon it from the galleries. we should be willing to remain here, and at least make it appear we are doing our duty, whether we are or not.

[Manifestations of applause in the galleries.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Kentucky yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield. Mr. MURRAY. I can readily understand the position the majority leader takes, but I think it would be only fair to say that Senators are under great pressure in connection with committee work, and that it would be impossible to carry on the work of the committees unless Senators were absent from the floor at various times. It is unfortunate, but nevertheless I do not think Senators who are engaged in legitimate committee work should be subjected to criticism

for their failure to be on the floor when an important matter is being considered, because the work of the committee is sometimes just as important and just as vital as the work on the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY: I am not criticizing any individual Senator or the chairmen of any of the standing or special committees.

Mr. ELLENDER. Whom is the Senator criticizing?

Mr. BARKLEY. I am talking about the Senate as a whole.

Mr. ELLENDER. That includes those attending committee meetings.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if attendance on committee meetings is to be given as a chronic and perpetual excuse for absenteeism from the floor of the Senate, we should adopt a rule that if a committee is to be in session when the Senate is in session, the Senate should have some notice of it. And when there is a roll call of the Senate to determine whether there is a quorum present, we should stop the practice of having the names of the Senators put on the roll when they are not here to answer to their

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield. Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I merely wish to say that I had intended to discuss today the subject to which the Senator has been alluding, but I had refrained from bringing it up because I knew there was a limitation of debate in connection with the pending bill which provides for the extension of the Lend-Lease Act. I want the RECORD to show that at the conclusion of the consideration of the proposed legislation I shall endeavor to obtain the floor to make some remarks on the subject the Senator has been discussing.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I had not intended to comment upon this situation during the limitation of debate, but I was prompted to do so by the utter failure to get a quorum of Senators here, although the announcement by the Chair shows that 49 Senators were on the floor. We all know 49 Senators were not on the floor at any time during the roll call, or after it ended. Senators come in and answer to their names, and then go out. In the House of Representatives there used to be a practice, when a point of no quorum was made, of locking the doors so that Members of the House could not get out, at least until the roll call had been completed. There are many legislatures in the country which have similar rules, and they do not even unlock the doors after the roll call is finished until a vote is had on the measure, the consideration of which brought about the roll call.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield. Mr. BROOKS. I should like to make the point that there are 23 Senators in attendance on this side, and there are 19 on the other side.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator from Illinois thinks that is of any importance, very well. I suppose his idea was to inject some partisanship into the question. I am not talking about Democrats

or Republicans: I am talking about the United States Senate.

Mr. President, in whatever time I have left, I shall discuss the amendment now pending.

As I started to say awhile ago, I think there is a total misconception with reference to the pending measure and the language which the amendment of the Senator from Ohio seeks to eliminate. In order that we may understand what is involved. I wish to read a section of the original act. The bill the Senate is now considering is only a modification, a clarification, of the original Lend-Lease Act. Subsection (c) of section 3 of the original act provides:

After June 30, 1943, or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before June 30, 1943, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsec-tion (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States, neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a), except that until July 1, 1946—

Which is the end of the free period contemplated by the Congress for the liquidation of lend-lease-

except that until July 1, 1946, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before July 1, 1943, or before the passage of such concurrent resolution, whichever is the earlier.

In other words, when Congress passed the original Lend-Lease Act it provided the 3-year liquidation period during which contracts made prior to July 1, 1943, could be carried out by the agency or by the Government. What the pending bill does is merely to enlarge somewhat upon that language by providing that-

Nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, postwar rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

It was never the intention of Congress that lend-lease should be used for postwar relief for reconstruction or rehabilitation. The President himself has over and over declared that when the war ends lend-lease shall end. In his statement recently issued, and in his annual message, the President emphasized the fact that when the war ends no more loans shall be made, no more grants of any kind shall be made, under the Lend-Lease Act. But Congress was wise enough to realize that a time would come when we would have to liquidate a vast amount of property scattered all over the world. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] has referred to engines, or locomotives, but there are vast quantities of property of all kinds, not only in France but probably in Africa, in Italy, in England, in Belgium, and in Russia, and there will be vast quantities of property in Germany and in China and on all the islands of the sea, which has been carried there under lend-lease, and as a part of the war program. What are we going to do with that property? The title to every ounce of it is

in the United States Government. Are we going to leave it piled up in foreign countries to disintegrate or evaporate; if it happens to be engines, to rust; or if it happens to be boxcars, to remain where it is indefinitely subject to the ravages of the weather?

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the

Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I have only a few minutes left.

Mr. CORDON. Has not Congress passed the act creating the Surplus Property Board to take care of that situation?

Mr. BARKLEY. No, not altogether. Not only have we sent boxcars overseas, but, as was referred to yesterday, agricultural implements have been sent overseas to enable the countries to which they were sent to produce food for our soldiers and as a part of the war effort, in order to save shipping space of our own merchant marine which would otherwise be needed to carry food and supplies from the United States. We still have title to that property. It may not be economically sound or wise to try to bring all that property back to the United States. If it is brought back and is sold in this country it would come in competition with products of our own factories and with our own labor for whom we are undertaking to provide jobs when the war shall end.

So all this provision of the bill does is merely to emphasize what everyone has said, that the lend-lease law shall not be used for the purpose of rehabilitation, reconstruction or relief, and in order not to restrict ourselves too sharply by the provision that it shall not be used for such purposes, the bill makes this provision in the language which the Senator from Ohio now seeks to strike out:

Except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this Act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation or postwar reconstruc-

All that language means is that wherever this property may be, the title to which is in the Government of the United States, when the war shall end and it is to be sold to any private purchaser or any government, whether it be engines or boxcars or spades and shovels or whatever it may be, if it is still unconsumed and still usable, the sale of the property to any government shall not be regarded as the use of the lend-lease law for reconstruction, rehabilitation or for relief.

Mr. Crowley in testifying before the committee was very frank. He said that all this property will be subject to sale. It will be sold and not given away. It will not be loaned and it will not be leased. It will be sold if it is salable and usable. On what terms of credit it may be sold I

do not undertake to say. I suppose that would depend entirely on the economic condition of each nation to which we might want to sell it, but it will be sold. It will not be given away; it will not be leased; it will not be loaned.

Mr. President, there will be billions of dollars worth of property, located all over the world, concerning which we must make up our minds whether it is more economical to sell it where it is, even on liberal terms of credit, or bring it back to the United States in ships which will be needed for the transportation of our soldiers from the war fronts back to their homes, or whether we shall simply let it lie where it is, unused, and if it happens to be physical property, subject to the deterioration of the weather, or if it happens to be food, subject to decomposition or other forms of disintegration.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Pres-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Why not dispose of it under the Surplus Property Board which the Congress created for

that very purpose?

Mr. BARKLEY. Because a considerable part of this property does not necessarily come under the terms of the law which Congress passed creating the Surplus Property Board, and, in the next place, if we say to the President, "You cannot dispose of any of the property; you must sell it through the Surplus Property Board," it may be years before we are able to dispose of it under such conditions. We know how long it took at the end of the last war to dispose of \$7,000,000,000 worth of surplus property. It is said we will have \$100,000,000,000 worth of surplus property left at the end of this war.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I do not know how the President could sell it faster than the Surplus Property Board

could sell it.

Mr. BARKLEY. In the first place, the President, having entered into a contract with one of the United Nations for lendlease, and at the end of the war having found himself in possession of a great amount of surplus property, in my judgment, he can enter into a more speedy and probably a more advantageous contract with the nation which has possession of or in whose territory the property may be located than can be made by any other agency of the Government after bringing the property back to the United States and selling it under the conditions suggested by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President-The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lucas in the chair). Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield. Mr. ELLENDER. The proviso on page 2, ending in line 9, reads as follows:

Provided, however, That nothing in section (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation. or post-war reconstruction.

After that language follows the exception. It would seem to me that the exception as written nullifies the proviso and seems to indirectly give the President the right to enter into an agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief. post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction. Does not the Senator agree with my interpretation?

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator will bear with me for a moment, I think he will conclude that he is mistaken.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. time of the Senator from Kentucky on the amendment has expired.

Mr. BARKLEY. I shall take some time on the bill.

In the first place, the present law does not authorize the President to enter into such a contract. This language was put in the bill in order to make the situation clear, to dissipate the doubts of anyone that under lend-lease the President could enter into a contract for rehabilitation. reconstruction, or relief.

Mr. ELLENDER. Then why the exception?

Mr. BARKLEY. The exception was put in the bill so that, during the 3-year limitation period, in cases where the President has entered into contracts for lend-lease property to be used as a part of the war effort, he may be able to carry out and complete such contracts which are partially consummated, and dispose of the property to the advantage of the United States.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator admits that under the lend-lease law as now written the President cannot spend money for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction. That is true, is it not?

Mr. BARKLEY. That is true. Mr. ELLENDER. If the exception which the amendment seeks to strike from the bill were left in, that would indicate that the President would have the right to do that very thing and I am certain it would be so construed.

Mr. BARKLEY. Not at all. The first part of the proviso was inserted to calm the fears of many who thought that under the guise of lend-lease the President might enter into post-war contracts. It was inserted in the House in order to calm the fears of many persons who were afraid that the President was going to use lend-lease in order to make post-war contracts, notwithstanding the fact that the original law gave him the power, during a 3-year period, to liquidate the contracts made under lend-lease. That language was inserted in the House, as was the language of the exception, to make sure that, while the President may not enter into any post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction contracts under lend-lease, he is not restricted, in the 3-year period, from disposing of the property he finds on his hands, or completing contracts entered into under the original law.

Mr. ELLENDER. Could he not do so under existing law, if the contracts were not for post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction?

Mr. BARKLEY. He might be able to sell an engine or a boxcar; but if an engine or a boxcar were half completed, he could not finish the product. He could not carry to completion the construction of the engine, boxcar, or truck, in order to sell it to the greatest advan-

Mr. ELLENDER. I am not familiar with the details of all the transactions and agreements made by the President, with France, to rehabilitate the railroads and other facilities of that country. Does the Senator believe that under the lend-lease law as enacted, the Administrator has the authority to use lendlease funds to repair railroads, furnish locomotives, repair cotton mills, and furnish raw materials, and so forth.

Mr. BARKLEY. What happened with respect to the French contract was this: We entered into quite a large contract with France. Every item in that contract provides for material essential in the war effort. The rehabilitation of the French railroads was necessary in order that they might transport supplies from France to Germany, Belgium, Holland, or wherever the war was in progress, and in order that they might transport supplies from the harbors to which we have access to the front lines. It is inconceivable that the usefulness of that property should end with the close of the war. While it was loaned or leased, or assigned to France as a part of the war program, when the war ends, of course the property may be useful in rehabilitating and reconstructing France. But it is to be paid for by the French Government to the United States on terms agreed upon between the United States and France. The prices and terms of repayment will be agreed upon.

Mr. ELLENDER. Would the Senator offer the same argument with respect to advances made to rehabilitate other factories in France?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes, if the advances were made to help France to reconstruct her factories to produce war goods. That is the only purpose for which such advances have been made. The Senator shakes his head, as though he were in doubt about it.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am wondering about the extent to which lend-lease has been used. Following the Senator's argument, a great deal of money and goods could easily be made available to the Czechs for the same purpose, or to Belgium or the Netherlands, so that what we are now trying to prohibit could be indirectly done.

Mr. BARKLEY. If any Senator or anyone else in the United States is willing to assume that the President of the United States is going to perpetrate a fraud on the American people, or is willing to intimate that he would make loans ostensibly for war purposes, but in fact for post-war reconstruction, he can take that view. I do not believe that the President of the United States, or Mr. Crowley, Mr. Stettinius, or anyone else who has had anything to do with the administration of the lend-lease law has deliberately, and by design, or for any other reason, gone beyond the powers conferred upon him in the Lend-Lease Act to make grants and leases for war purposes. Merely because when the war

is over, or even while the war is in progress, the rehabilitation of a railroad, the reconstruction of a bridge for war purposes, or the reconstruction of a factory to produce munitions, may later incidentally prove to be of benefit to France, we cannot deny the loan or the advance because incidentally it may ultimately help in the solution of the economic problems in France.

When the war ends, whatever has been loaned, leased, or assigned to France, or to Czechoslovakia—if anything has been assigned to Czechoslovakia as a part of the lend-lease war effort-will be the property of the United States. Title to every ounce of it will be in the Government of the United States; and if it is to be retained by a foreign government, it will be paid for by that government to the United States. We gave the Government 3 years in which to carry out the liquidation.

Mr. TAFT. Senator yield? Mr. President, will the

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President—— Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am not trying to blame anyone for what has been done in France, or what may be done in the future under lend-lease; but I believe that the law has been stretched almost to the breaking point in doing what has been done in France. That is my personal

Mr. BARKLEY. That is a matter of opinion; and, of course, the Senator is sincere and honest in his opinion, as he is in all things. If I may use the Senator's own expression, I believe it is stretching it a little to say that we went beyond the purposes of lend-lease in-our own self-defense in any country which we had to invade, and from which we had to drive the Germans, where the bridges, railroads, and harbors had been destroyed, if we made commitments under lend-lease in order that we might restore those facilities, not merely for the benefit of France or some other country, but in order that we might transport our armies, our munitions, and supplies to the seat of war.

Mr. ELLENDER. An army usually has the funds and facilities to do such things in conquered territory. As I understand, we made every effort to occupy the port of Antwerp so as to use that port to bring food, supplies, and munitions to our

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator says that armies usually do such things in conquered territory. However, this is the only time in the history of the world when there has been such a thing as lend-lease, so I do not think we can assume what is usually done. Furthermore. I do not believe we can say that armies are overly sentimental about such things. In my judgment, an army is actuated by military necessity and military wisdom. I do not believe that our armies have been overly sentimental; nor do I believe that the President, Mr. Crowley, or anyone else connected with lendlease contracts has been overly sentimental. They have done what they thought it was necessary to do in the conduct and winning of the war. If they

have erred on the side of generosity by granting more than was necessary, and we criticize them for that, I can only imagine how much we would criticize them if they had not done enough,

That is especially true of France, where as the Senator knows, the Germans had exploited not only the agricultural production of France, but also her factories. The Germans converted them into war plants, and then destroyed them as they retired from France. We could not get the benefit of full production in French munitions factories without lend-lease, and we made lend-lease grants. It may be that when the war is over, the help which we have given to France, which was help to ourselves, will be of some incidental benefit to the French people. We cannot help that, but we ought not to complain about it. If there is any property there as a result of such operations, it still belongs to the United States. It will not be given away or loaned. If the French Government desires to keep it, it will be paid-for. It may not be economical or wise to tear out and bring back to this country much of the machinery which has been used in factories in France.

Mr. ELLENDER. If it is paid for by France, I presume it will be paid for at France's own prices. As the Senator knows, a railroad in place in France is of no benefit to anyone except France.

Mr. BARKLEY. That may be true.

I do not believe that we can say that it will be paid for at France's own prices. We have the choice of selling it to our best advantage or taking it out of France and bringing it back to the United States, where it would compete with our own labor and our own production. course, it may be dumped into the ocean,

Mr. ELLENDER. Did the committee call any witnesses who testified as to the extent to which aid similar to that which was given to France was extended to other countries?

Mr. BARKLEY. As I recall, we had before the committee as witnesses Mr. Crowley, who is the Administrator, and Mr. Cox, who is the attorney. I do not recall whether anyone else appeared.

The statements of both Mr. Crowley and Mr. Cox were not only frank and open, but they apparently satisfied all the members of the committee, and the bill was reported unanimously, without amendment.

The contract with France differs somewhat from the contracts with other countries. There is what is called a master contract, but there are variations from it, depending upon the country and the conditions. I am sure the Senator must recognize that the situation in France was different from that in any other country. We were invading France; we were going into a country where all the physical properties, means of transportation, and everything else had practically been destroyed. We had to start almost from scratch to build up France, in order that our soldiers and our supplies might get beyond where they would be immediately needed, to where they are now being used so successfully for the termination of the war. It was necessary to have a little different contract with France, and the amount was larger; although, taking the full period during which we have made lend-lease commitments, we find that we have made lend-lease commitments to Great Britain for larger amounts than the amounts involved under the contract between the United States and France about which we have been talking. But that covers a period of 3 or 4 years.

Mr. ELLENDER. Was there any evidence respecting the agreement to rehabilitate the mills of France which were engaged in manufacturing cotton yarns. and other cotton-mill products.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not recall that

that matter was gone into.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand, the \$2,000,000,000 lend-lease contract incorporated within it the purchase price of a considerable amount of raw cotton and the rehabilitation of many cotton mills, so as to enable them to manufacture the raw cotton to cloth. Is that correct?

Mr. BARKLEY. It is possible and perhaps probable that in the production of cloth for the Army and for our own purposes, whether for clothing or for any other war purpose, the machinery in those mills has been improved and rehabilitated; but the title is still in the United States.

Mr. ELLENDER. The title in what? Mr. BARKLEY. In the property, whatever it may be.

Mr. ELLENDER. I know that: but what property does the Senator mean?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not mean the title to the whole plant, but I mean the title in whatever machinery has been put into the plant by the United States. in order to have the plant manufacture cotton goods or anything else needed for war purposes. The title to it is still in the United States; and when the war ends we can either bring back the property to this country or we can dispose of it; and if we dispose of it to France, it will be paid for by the French.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is the Senator from Kentucky of the opinion that lend-lease. as originally enacted by Congress, con-

templated such agreements?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; I think it did. Mr. ELLENDER. I do not. Time will tell and my guess is that much money and tons of goods were utilized far beyond the scope of lend-lease as most of us understood it when first enacted by the Congress.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, yesterday a great deal was said about agricultural machinery-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. BARKLEY. Very well, Mr. President; let me say in conclusion that I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I will yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator cannot yield to me if my time has expired.

Mr. WHERRY. I thought I would yield the floor to the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. Well, Mr. President, my time has expired, and that means that I am through.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the majority leader because I have listened most attentively to what he has said, and I think his remarks have been most worth while and entirely worth listening to with, a great deal of care.

In the first place, let me say that I endorse everything the Senator from Kentucky has said about attendance on the floor of the Senate, and I say to him that I wish to cooperate with him in every way I can.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator. Of course I do not like to lecture or castigate my colleagues, but I think what I said earlier in my remarks was entirely justified.

Mr. WHERRY. Of course it was.

Now, Mr. President, I should like to have the able senior Senator from Kentucky comment on a question which interests me. In connection with the observations which have been made by the Senator from Ohio, the point which interests me most in respect to the contractual relationship existing under lendlease is the provision to be found on page 2, in the second section. I should like to ask the Senator whether he thinks that all the property he mentioned as possibly being left in some European country could be disposed of in the manner.suggested by the distinguished Senator from Oregon, through the Surplus Property Board; or if it could not be disposed of in that way, could it be disposed of by means of a loan made by the proper officials of government who now have that au-

Mr. BARKLEY. I think it is possible that any surplus property we may have. property which is declared to be surplus by any of the departments which have possession of property or are using it for war purposes, could be sold under the Surplus Property Act and under the jurisdiction of the Surplus Property Board. But that is not the whole problem which is presented by the 3-year period about which we are talking.

Suppose we are making trucks, under lend-lease contracts, for France or Belgium or Russia or China or Great Britain, and suppose we have a vast number of trucks which are half completed, and which are being manufactured under lend-lease. If the Taft amendment is adopted and if the 3-year period is to be restricted, the President would not have any authority to go ahead and complete the manufacture of those trucks in order that they might be sold, when completed, to the advantage of the United States. They would have to be sold as uncompleted trucks.

There are many other points to be considered. Suppose we have contracted to send rails to France, for instance, to be used to reconstruct her railroads, or suppose we have contracted to send bridge material to her, in order that the bridges over which we are to send our supplies and our soldiers may be reconstructed. Suppose those bridges are half completed. The bridge materials might be on their way to France. Are we going to have the ship turn around in the middle of the ocean and bring back the material, or are we going to sell the material to a government which needs it and will pay for it when the war is over,

and when the material is no longer needed for war purposes?

The provision which the Senator from Ohio is seeking to strike out is made necessary only because of what precedes it, in an effort to interpret section 3 (c) of the original act, by saying that it shall not be used for reconstruction, rehabilitation, or relief. If that provision is not retained, we will not even need the second provision of the section which the Senator from Ohio is seeking to strike out.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. In respect to the question of uncompleted trucks, I do not understand that such matters would in any way be affected by the amendment. The limitation would be solely on a contract with a foreign government. President has made a contract to build trucks for the United States, nothing would invalidate such a contract.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is not what I was saying, and the Senator knows it. did not say anything about contracts to build trucks for the United States.

Mr. TAFT. That is what I understood

the Senator to say.
Mr. BARKLEY. I was talking about trucks being built under lend-lease for some foreign country.

Mr. TAFT. But they would be built under a contract with an American truck company; and under that contract the company would be making the trucks for the United States-Government. contract would in no way be involved by anything contained in the second sec-

Mr. BARKLEY. But the title would be in the United States Government and would remain there, and the trucks would be made to fulfill a contract between the United States | Government and some other country for the furnishing of The Senator will not deny that. trucks.

Mr. TAFT. No; but there is nothing in the amendment which would in any way involve or prevent completion of the trucks. When we got through it is true we would have the trucks on our hands, but we could find thousands of people in this country who would be more than glad to have an opportunity to buy them.

Mr. BARKLEY. But would it be better to sell the trucks in this country? would be undertaking to make other trucks in our own factories in the United States, and we would be undertaking to employ American labor in the process of their manufacture. Would it be more effective to sell the trucks abroad or to bring them back from overseas and to sell them in competition with trucks which were being made day by day, by the emploment of millions of our own people?

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. The point I should like to make is that, in my opinion, the amendment in no way affects trucks or any other material which might have been delivered to a foreign government. I care not whether the title is in our country or where it is; we would have furnished the material to the foreign government and there it would be. If we wished to let the foreign government have it for nothing, the President could do that under the Lend-Lease Act, or he might agree to take long-term paper for the trucks, or he might do anything he pleased. Nothing contained in the amendment would in any way limit him. Once the President has given such ma-. terial to a foreign government, there is no limitation on him in respect to anything else he may wish to do with it.

The amendment would limit the President only in connection with the carrying out of a contract for the delivery of goods. As I interpret the section, it provides that after the war ends the President must not deliver goods under such contracts for post-war rehabilitation, reconstruction, or relief.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky. We want information, and I am willing to have it obtained in my time.

Mr. BARKLEY. So long as the war lasts the lend-lease Administrator may deliver materials to foreign governments. When the war ends he may not deliver a single one of them to foreign governments under lend-lease, because they are no longer needed for war purposes. But he may continue to deliver them for money. I am trying to make the point that to allow the Government of the United States to complete delivery of a great deal of this property and receive cash for it will place the Government in a more-flexible and advantageous position than would result from trying to saw the situation off on a given day like the butt end of a log. The Senator from Nebraska knows what I

Mr. WHERRY. I certainly understand the Senator from Kentucky. [Laughter.1

Mr. BARKLEY. We cannot saw it off at any time like the butt end of a log. That is why, nearly 5 years ago, recognizing that there must be a period of liquidation and that there must be flexibility, Congress gave the Administrator 3 years in which to liquidate lendlease. It was recognized that judgment and discretion must be left in the Administrator or the President to dispose of this property at the greatest possible advantage, and for the greatest sum of money which can ultimately be received, thereby reducing our public debt and our taxation. That is what we are all looking forward to.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I appreciate what the Senator from Kentucky has said, and I wish to propound a question to him in my time.

From the remarks made by the distinguished majority leader it is my understanding that if the Taft amendment is adopted, at the end of the war the lendlease contracts will immediately terminate. Am I correct? The Senator said the contracts would be cut off like the butt end of a log.

Mr. BARKLEY. When the war ends. either by proclamation of the President or by a concurrent resolution of Congress, further ability to contract will end.

Mr. WHERRY. When the contracts were terminated, what would become of the trucks which the Senator mentioned. which are on the assembly line? Would the President have full authority, under the Senator's interpretation, to continue to dispose of that property, or would it be turned over to the Surplus Property Board?

Mr. BARKLEY. Under subsection (c) of section 3 of the original act the President is authorized to complete those contracts.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes.
Mr. BARKLEY. If a contract is only partly completed the President has the right to bring about its completion. He may not deliver the material for lendlease, but he has the right to dispose of it. I would not argue that under the law establishing the Surplus Property Board, we could not dispose of that property in some fashion, wherever it might be. point is that we cannot dispose of it to as great advantage by putting it on the market and selling it in competition with other materials, as we can by dealing with the Government to which we have assigned the property.

Does the majority Mr. WHERRY. leader believe that the President of the United States would be in a better position to dispose of that property than would the Surplus Property Board, which inquires into all such matters?

Mr. BARKLEY. My answer to the question is "Yes." I think the Surplus Property Administrator, who really does this work, will be in better position, advantageously, to dispose of the property than would the Surplus Property Board. That is not altogether the fault of the Surplus Property Board, because there is a great deal of confusion in the interpretation of the law which Congress passed. I think that we shall have to clarify some of the provisions of the law in the not distant future.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may propound a question to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. A moment ago I expressed the view that the provision in section 2 was nullified by the exception clause contained therein. I ask the Sen-. ator from Kentucky why it is necessary to place the exception in the bill which begins at line 10 and ends at line 20, when, if the amendment is adopted, there will appear in Public Law 11 the following language in respect to the termination of contracts:

After June 30, 1946, or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before June 30, 1946, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States, neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a); except that until July 1, 1949—

This is the language to which I am referring-

any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before July 1, 1946 or before the passage of such concurrent resolution, whichever is the earlier.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I desire to carry out the wishes of the distinguished Senator from Louisiana. Does the Senator have 15 minutes left?

Mr. BARKLEY. I shall not trespass upon the Senator's time any further.

Mr. ELLENDER. In the light of the language which I read, I should like to have the Senator state why it is necessary to provide an exception in section 2 of the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Because the first part of the provision on page 2 is an effort to interpret an existing law. The House inserted that language in order to insure that none of the lend-lease materials shall be considered to be for the purpose of rehabilitation, reconstruction, or relief. But the subsequent language was put in in order to insure that, although the authority to carry out the terms of the contracts was provided in the law when originally enacted, it shall not be regarded as lend-lease for the purpose of rehabilitation, relief, or reconstruction. The fact that a contract is carried out, and disposition is made of property under the original law, shall not be construed to be reconstruction, rehabilitation, or relief. The language is an effort further to interpret and clarify what Congress had in mind when it enacted the law.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield. Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand the Senator from Kentucky, the language in subsection (c) of section 3 of Public Law 11, providing how a contract or agreement shall be terminated, would not apply to the disposition of lend-lease for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

Mr. BARKLEY. My interpretation, not only of the amendment but of the original act, is that all such contracts were made for war purposes, and that when the war ends no further contracts may be made for war purposes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Under section 2 of the bill we are prohibiting the use of lend-lease for post-war relief. I cannot, for the life of me, see why the exception. to which I have referred must be made a part of the language of the bill, when we already have the language in section 3 which I read.

Mr. BARKLEY. Because during the 3-year period following the termination of the war we prohibit the authorization of these materials for rehabilitation, reconstruction, or relief.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am unable to see how that construction can be placed on the language inasmuch as the prohibition is already contained in the law which was enacted.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I want to thank the distinguished majority leader for his observations and also the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for the contribution made by him. This is the very thing that I brought to the attention of the majority leader yesterday. In the light of the explanation made by him, it resolves itself down to this: Do we want the President of the

United States to have the authority to dispose of property that is to be delivered after the war terminates, and can the President of the United States do a better job of it than the Surplus Property Board? That is the way it looks to me. and I think that is in keeping with the answer made by the distinguished maiority leader.

I feel this way about it: There is no testimony in the record to give the Members of the Senate any idea as to what commitments have been made between those in authority here and the French Government. I understand some doubt is evidenced by the distinguished Senator from Ohio to that effect.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President. will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.
Mr. BARKLEY. I will say that the testimony of Mr. Crowley and Mr. Cox was taken in the committee by a stenographer. I do not know why the testimony has not been printed.

Mr. WHERRY. It has not been printed in the Senate record and the agreement is not in the House record.

Mr. BARKLEY. It has not been printed, but I say that both those gentlemen answered satisfactorily every question asked them by every member of the committee without regard to politics.

Mr. WHERRY. -I might say to the majority leader, that regardless of the committees, what we want is evidence brought on the floor of the Senate of the United States. The French contract is not here; we do not know with certainty what goods or materials are involved; but if we take the answers made by the gentlemen whom the majority leader just mentioned we find that practically all the commitments made to France are for materials that are other than what are called munitions and implements of war.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield. Mr. BARKLEY. There is nothing in the testimony, nothing in any statement in the House of Representatives or before the Senate committee that a single pound of anything was committed to France that is not essential in the war. It may be that when the war is over some of this stuff will be left over; but Mr. Crowley and Mr. Cox both testified unequivocally that there is nothing in the contract that provides that any material shall be furnished to France that is not a war material.

Mr. WHERRY. I appreciated the interest and the answer of the majority leader, but this is the first time that has been brought to my attention, and I have no other way of knowing except from the observation of the distinguished majority leader. I am not a member of the committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. I regret that the statement of Mr. Crowley and the statement of Mr. Cox have not been printed. I do not know why they were not, unless the committee or perhaps the chairman thought that inasmuch as the report on the bill was unanimous it was not necessary to go to the expense of printing the hearings.

Mr. WHERRY. Let me suggest to the majority leader that it has been rumored—I do not know whether it is true—that a commitment of \$8,000,000,-000 has been made to Russia.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is absolutely untrue, and has been denied categorically. Of course, there are all sorts of rumors around. Mr. Crowley undertook to answer all of them in the statement he made to the committee. But there is no commitment of any kind by Mr. Crowley or anybody else. have been newspaper stories that Russia. wanted \$6,000,000,000. That is an independent matter, and has nothing to do with lend-lease. That is for reconstruction and rehabilitation, if it is granted, and it is a matter for the future, which would be handled by an entirely different agency, and not until Congress had authorized by general law the granting of such credit, not only to Russia but to any other country.

Mr. WHERRY. I want to thank the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, the majority leader. That is the first time that statement has ever been made where I could hear it as a Member of the United States Senate. It is the first time I have ever heard a word of explanation about it. Yet we are asked to support legislation which I think, if it is not amended as proposed by the Senator from Ohio, will simply write a blank check to the President of the United States, who can, if he is so disposed, without further action by Congress, make contracts that will continue for 1 year, under which goods to be sent across the water may be delivered 3 years from that

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield. Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator said a moment ago that it was the first time he had ever heard such a statement as that made by me. If he has listened yesterday to the very able speech of the Senator from Michigan, who is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. and who propounded some 13 questions to Mr. Crowley and Mr. Cox, he would have known that the Senator from Michigan stated that the whole program of post-war reconstruction - grants and loans and credits—was a matter to be taken up independently of lend-lease, and taken up by the Congress of the United States, and he wanted a blueprint from the President or someone else. as we all do. Congress has not granted any checking authority to the President. Congress has not authorized the President to grant any credit to any nation outside lend-lease, and nobody contemplates, least of all the President, the making of any such commitments until he has the authority to do so.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I do not understand, though, that even the French agreement has been put in any record or that Mr. Crowley put it in the record of the hearings of the Foreign Relations Committee. He certainly did not put them in the House record, because I have it here: nor do I think the last British agreement was put in the record. So far as I know—and I raise the question—no recent lend-lease agreements have been put in the record of the Senate hearing on this question, and we are wholly without information as to what those agreements are.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to say in conclusion that I trust the majority leader will not feel that I have irritated him, although he has put considerable force in some of his answers. Here we are called upon to continue lend-lease. Some of us believe in lend-lease so far as it will help this country in the purposes of national defense; but I want to go on record as being opposed to such a program after this war terminates. When the war is concluded, if any materials are being made by a contractor I think such property should be turned over as Congress has prescribed under the Surplus Property Disposal Act and should be disposed of as provided by statute. I think the President of the United States should no longer have anything to say about it or make commitments for our people to any other country under the terms of the bill the committee reported to the Senate.

I want to thank the majority leader for answering my questions, because he has thrown much light on some of the things said about certain Government agencies as well as about what we are going to do for France and Russia and some other countries under the theory of lend-lease. I think that anything we might do for those countries should take

the form of a loan.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. There is no particular opprobrium to be attached to anybody because the lend-lease contracts have not been put into the RECORD. It is not customary for us to put all contracts between the Government of the United States and other countries into the RECORD. The only chance we had to discuss this question was when Mr. Crowley and Mr. Cox appeared before the committee on the bill extending the lendlease law to June 30, 1946. I do not recall now whether the French contract was made a part of the testimony; it may not have been, but there is no desire to keep it secret. The Senator knows that every time the Government makes a contract none of us rush to put it into the

Mr. WHERRY. Once again I want to thank the distinguished majority leader for his contribution. I was not charging there was secrecy, but I say that we are called upon here to give what I call a blank check for the disposition of this property which comes under lend-lease contracts, after the war is concluded, and the Congress of the United States ought to know what is included in those commitments if we are to vote on them. I myself do not know, and I think I speak the mind of most other Senators when I say that we had no way of obtaining this information until we got it from the majority leader on the floor this afternoon. I thank him. I am more convinced than ever that the purpose of this amendment is to enable us to proceed in the light of the majority leader's speech, so that when the war terminates, if there are on hand goods of value, they should be properly disposed of as has already been provided by the Surplus

Property Act.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, I shall vote for the Taft amendment. I am very strongly in favor of this country extending post-war loans, and even relief, where necessary to relieve economic chaos in Europe once the war is over; but I do not think we should do it under the Lend-Lease Act. It was not intended for that purpose, and I think it is an abuse of the power which Congress granted the Executive to use it for such

a purpose.

As I read the proviso beginning in line 6, it seems to me the language which the Senator from Ohio seeks to strike out completely nullifies the first part of the proviso, because it provides that any contract "which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any defense articles shall not be deemed to be

for post-war relief."

As I read that, it means that if we enter into a contract now for lend-lease aid, and perhaps only one-tenth of it has been delivered when the war in Europe ends, the President can proceed to manufacture the other nine-tenths under the contract and deliver it under any kind of terms and conditions of sale which he fixes, and obviously it would be for post-war relief or rehabilitation, because the war would be over.

The Senator from Kentucky has raised the question of what we are going to do at the time the war ends about property which, under contract, has already been delivered in a country across the water. I certain do not think any Senator would insist on bringing all that property back to the United States and disposing of it here. If the language of the proviso could be so altered that it would apply only to the President's authority to dispose of property which had already been delivered under a contract, I do not think there would be any opposition to the proviso; and if that can be worked out in conference, I certainly shall support it. But as I read the language, it would not apply only to materials which had been delivered. If the contract with France, for instance, had been only 10 percent delivered, under this provision the President could proceed to manufacture in this country the remaining 90 percent and deliver it to France on any kind of terms and conditions he agreed to. I think that is definitely a loan or sale of some kind for post-war rehabilitation of France, and, as I have said, it nullifies the first part of the proviso.

I think we will probably desire to grant some post-war credit to France for reconstruction, but let us do it on that basis, and not do it under the guise of a lend-lease contract to help win the war.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I shall take my time on the bill. I think it has been made very clear now that there is no intention to interfere in any way with what has already been delivered to foreign countries. It has been delivered, it is there, we cannot get it back, unless they give it to us. They may owe it to us. A tremendous amount of it has been completely destroyed. The President is given power under the Lend-Lease Act "You can have that for nothing," to say, or to fix the compensation which is to be paid for it, and he may do so on terms of cash or on terms of a loan. That is agreeable to me, and that does not affect this bill in any way.

The purpose of the amendment is to provide that the President may not after the end of the war continue to carry out any longer a contract for the delivery of stuff which was previously contracted

for.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield one question, because my time is very limited.

Mr. BALL. Is it not the Senator's opinion that the language he seeks to strike out actually broadens the President's authority under the act?

Mr. TAFT. I think it does, because it provides that if a certain thing is done with a lend-lease contract there is an exemption from all the provisions about not selling for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, post-war construction. If there was a desire to write the first part of the program and then provide how the President could dispose of the property, that would be one thing, but why this peculiar and ambiguous language, which excepts from the post-war castigation, if we may call it that, any contract which contains the one provision that the President may sell the property? If that is inserted, then the whole contract is exempted.

Undoubtedly that is included to take care of the French contract, which, obviously, I think was made for post-war purposes. I am not so much concerned even about that contract, but it sets an example so that exactly the same thing can be done with the British, the same thing can be done with the Russians, the same thing can be done with any other country. The property may be described as being for war purposes, of course, if the war is going on. We have been feeding Great Britain foodstuffs. The simplest kinds of commodities are defense articles, and they can be included, and the only question is whether they are delivered before the end of the war or after the end of the war. Certainly foodstuffs delivered after the end of the war are for post-war rehabilitation, and the mere fact that we reserve the right to sell them should not change that result.

Even if there is anything in the suggestion of the Senator from Kentucky, I think the purpose should be indicated in much clearer language, and not in language which attempts to exempt certain kinds of contracts.

Mr. President, I ask that there be inserted at this point in my remarks the joint statement of the State and Treasury Departments and the F. E. A. relating to the French contract, released to the press March 4, 1945, appearing in the State Department official bulletin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the state-ment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

JOINT STATEMENT BY STATE AND TREASURY DEPARTMENTS AND F. E. A.

Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury; and Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Eco-nomic Administrator, acting for the Government of the United States on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease discussions with Jean Monnet, representative of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, made the following statement on February 28:

"Three agreements relating to lend-lease and reverse lend-lease aid have been con-cluded with the French: (1) A master agreement identical with those entered into with the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, and other countries; (2) a reciprocal aid agreement similar to those entered into with the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and others; and (3) an agreement under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act.

"The first two agreements with the French are based on the same principles as the lendlease and reverse lend-lease agreements made by the United States with our other allies. The third agreement is the first to be concluded with any of the United Nations. similar agreement is in negotiation with the Soviet Union.

The underlying fundamental principle of the lend-lease agreements is the one previously laid down by the President of the United States: "Until the unconditional surrender of both Japan and Germany, we should continue the lend-lease program on whatever scale is necessary to make the combined striking power of all the United Nations against our enemies as overwhelming and as effective as we can make it.

All of the supplies, services, and informa-tion covered by the agreements with the French Provisional Government are directly connected with the prosecution of the war. The basic purpose of the whole program is to enable all French resources and the whole French Nation-soldiers, workers, producers, and farmers—to be mobilized and used for the war against the common enemy. Supplies, services, and information solely for reconstruction or rehabilitation purposes are excluded from these agreements. required by the French solely for post-war purposes will have to be handled by other means since the Lend-Lease Act is, and is being administered as, a war-supply measure. Economic and financial cooperation by all the United Nations in many different ways will doubtless be required to meet such post-war problems. Effective action in this field will require both international and national action by the respective governments, including in many cases legislative action.

As in the case of other lend-lease countries, the amounts and types of materials, services, etc., which are to be supplied under these lend-lease agreements continue to be subject, as always, to adjustments from time to time in accordance with the changing conditions of the war. When finished munitions are produced and available for delivery, they are assigned by the Munitions Assignments Board under the direction of the combined Chiefs of Staff in the light of the strategic considerations prevailing at the time of the assignment. Similar procedures are and will continue to be in effect for other war supplies that each country may make available to the

The United States has already furnished France, under lend-lease, with guns, ammunition, tanks, and other finished munitions and supplies for eight French divisions, and 300 supporting units, aggregating in all zones 225,000 men, in addition to a French air force of about 15,000 men. In the words of Secretary of War Stimson:

"During the past year of operations some of those French divisions fought superbly by the side of our American troops in the Fifth Army in the very difficult campaign up through the Italian Peninsula. Thereafter, these French troops took an indispensable part in the landing in southern France in support of our invasion of Normandy, resulting in the capture of the ports of Marseille and Toulon, the triumphant march up the Rhone Valley through Lyons, and the successful junction with General Eisen-hower's forces on the German frontier. It is proper to say 'indispensable' because without those French divisions the American forces alone could not have carried through that campaign with any comparable saving of losses on our side. As it was, those losses were at a minimum. Subsequently, as members of the French First Army, these same French troops have helped effectuate the rescue of the Province of Alsace, including Strasbourg, and the present holding of the upper Rhine boundary,'

Supplies to equip additional French divisions and units will be furnished under lend-lease pursuant to the terms of these agreements.

War production materials and other vital supplies and services will be furnished by the United States to the French under these agreements on lend-lease until a determination by the President that they are no longer necessary for the prosecution of the war. After this determination, the French may under the 3 (c) agreement continue to receive the undelivered balances of certain supplies in the program and to pay for them on specified credit terms, with the reserved right to have the programs or contracts canceled upon paying the United States its out-of-pocket costs. The United States agrees to deliver the programed supplies to the French, after this determination by the President, unless the President determines that it is not in our national interest to do so.

The maximum aid to be furnished the

The maximum aid to be furnished the French by the United States under the 3 (c) agreement is specified in two schedules. The articles and services in schedule 1 and their estimated maximum cost are as follows:

Raw materials for war use and essential civilian supply (cotton, metals, steel, chemsynthetic rubber, icals. medical supplies, drugs, etc.)\_ \$840,000,000 Food (milk, pulses, edible oils, oilseed, seeds) 185,000,000 Petroleum supplies\_\_\_\_\_ 132,000,000 French prisoner-of-war supplies\_. 48,000,000 life manufacturing equipment for war produc-250, 000, 000 tion Freight charges (rental and charter of vessels) \_\_\_ 220,000,000

1,675,000,000

The supplies and services to be furnished under schedule 1 include such items as cotton for the production of cotton duck for tents and other textiles for the armed forces, rubber for the production of tires for military vehicles, and similar war-production materials. They also include other vital supplies such as petroleum, hand tools and trucks for war production and other essential operations, and food and medical supplies for war workers and others of the French people so that they can fight, produce, and work most effectively in the winning of the war.

Supplies and services under schedule 1

Supplies and services under schedule 1 do not include finished armament, etc., for the use of French military forces. Up to the extent that they are not found to be necessary in the joint war effort by the President, any undelivered balances of schedule 1 items may, subject to the reservation of the Pres-

ident to withhold in the national interest, be acquired by the French. Such items are to be paid for by the French in 30 annual installments beginning July 1, 1946, or on the 1st day of July following delivery with interest at  $2\frac{3}{8}$  percent per annum.

In addition to these supplies and materials provided under schedule 1, certain categorles of long-life capital goods will be provided under schedule 2 to enable France to produce and transport military equipment and other war goods for our combined forces. This will reduce the burden on our own output of such goods and will save vital shipping. These long-life capital goods which have a war-connected use are to be supplied to the French who agree to pay for them in full against 20 percent down payment on delivery and the balance in equal annual installments within not to exceed 30 years, with interest at 2% percent per annum.

The articles and services in schedule 2 and their estimated maximum cost are as follows:

Locomotives	\$200,000,000
Railroad cars	120,000,000
Merchant marines	140, 600, 000
Harbor watercraft	32, 000, 000
Fishing fleet	8,000,000
Inland watercraft (barges)	50,000,000
Metal-working machinery	<b>100</b> , 000, 000
Industrial equipment	150,000,000
Machinery for mines, arsenals,	., ., ., .,
etc	100, 000, 000
	200, 200, 000

Total\_\_\_\_\_ 900, 000, 000

These long-life articles are being furnished under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act and are put on these terms because, while they have an important and useful part to play in the war, a large part of their usefulness may also serve post-war purposes. Under the agreement production and delivery will not have to stop on these goods, even though the war should end before they were finished. The French agree to take and pay for such goods and the United States Government can proceed with an orderly liquidation of the lend-lease contracts in the manner provided for under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act. The program for long-life equipment of this character is subject to substantially the same limitations as apply to schedule 1.

Both of these programs are subject to periodic review in the light of the war conditions and particularly after the end of the European war, Such reviews will have as their central objective the carrying out of the intent of the Lend-Lease Act. From the beginning of the program in March of 1941, lend-lease aid has been extended for one purpose—and for one purpose only—the defense of the United States and to enable our allies to bring the full weight of their men and resources to bear against our common enemies. Accordingly, it is understood between the two Governments that the United States has a broad power to cancel or revoke procurement programs or contracts if the President determines that it is in our national interest to do so. Actual delivery will always be subject to the development of the military situation, and the changing demands of strategy, as well as to economic and financial factors which affect our national interest.

. The reciprocal-aid agreement—the second of the agreements noted above—has been made retroaction to D-day in order to cover supplies and services provided to the armed forces of the United States by the French since that time and without payment by us.

The supplies and services being furfished to us by the French under reverse lend-lease include textiles, military-vericle tires, batteries, telephone wire, chemicals, and other vital war materials, railroad and port facilities and services, hotels, warehouses, and other facilities and services. The French

have placed their industrial production, insofar as it can be brought into operation, at the service of the common war effort.

The reciprocal-aid agreement reaffirms the central principle that the French are to render us benefits on reverse lend-lease thus putting into effect the kind of combined war supply operations which have previously been so effective in aiding the United Nations to progress to victory over the common enemies.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, the French contract undertakes first to provide for some military supplies, and of course no one objects to that. It is to equip additional French divisions. Then it proceeds to provide for \$1,675,000,000 worth of raw materials, cotton, metals, steel, chemicals, rubber, drugs, medical supplies, milk, pulses, edible oils, oil seed, seeds, oil; and short-life manufacturing equipment for war production, \$259,000,-000. That is rather significant, when we turn to the other category and find that we are putting up \$100,000,000 worth of metal working machinery, \$150,000,000 worth of industrial equipment, and \$100 .-000,000 worth of machinery for mines, arsenals, and so forth, which is not apparently short-life equipment for war production. It is contrasted. They built up two things. Evidently the latter were clearly intended for post-war delivery. As a matter of physical possibility, hardly any of this two and a half billion dollars worth of material can be or will be delivered before the end of the war.

Mr. President, I have referred to the French contract. But it is said that if the war should continue for 2 years, all those materials could properly be used for war purposes, so Mr. Crowley can say, "We do not furnish anything that is not for war purposes." But the actual conditions are such that as a matter of fact some of it is for post-war relief, and it is expressly excepted by this language. In fact, the language is drawn for the purpose of excepting it, so that we can sell to France on credit—and the agreement provides for terms-up to two and one-half billion dollars worth or we may say up to \$2,000,000,000 worth which is left. "Such \$2,000,000,000 worth which is left. items are to be paid for by the French in 30 annual installments beginning July 1, 1946, or on the first day of 2% percent per annum." That is provided for the whole two and a half billion dollars. It is an authority to make a loan to France.

I do not know what the British agreement is—I have not a copy of it—but I do know that it was freely rumored, and was printed in News Week on November 20, that at Quebec Prime Minister Churchill had made certain demands, as follows:

1. That in the first 12 months after the defeat of Germany, Great Britain shall receive from us \$3,500,000,000 of so-called military lend-lease material. This would include such things as rolling stock and many other materials which, although necessary to war, also would be useful for post-war purposes.

2. That in addition Great Britain shall also receive during this period \$3,000,000,000 of nonwar supplies, such as raw materials. tools, and so forth, needed by the British for post-war reconversion.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I regret I have no time to yield at present because of the limitation on debate.

Details of the agreement were made public in a joint statement by Mr. Crowley, Secretary Stettinius, and Secretary Morgenthau on November 30. The New York Times article said:

The new arrangements, which will go into effect when the Reich falls, provide for \$5,-500,000,000—

Reduced from \$6,500,000,000 to \$5,500,-000,000, but otherwise much the same—of lend-lease aid to Britain in the ensuing year—

After the Reich falls, after the end of the German war—
of which \$2,700,000,000—

Instead of the \$3,500,000,000 in the bill—

will be munitions and \$2,800,000,000 non-munitions items, including about \$800,000,-000 worth of petroleum products.

The three officials said that the new arrangement represented no change in the policy which precluded commercial export of articles received under lend-lease.

I do not know whether that agreement has been closed; but certainly under the language I am trying to strike out we could proceed and make that agreement with Great Britain just as we made the French agreement, and exactly like it, knowing full well that four or five billion dollars of it is not to be delivered until after the war. We could go right ahead and make that contract, and the language of the bill would entirely exempt it from the general prohibition of the act against carrying out post-war rehabilitation, reconstruction, and relief.

Mr. President, it seems to me perfectly obvious that we should carry out the policy of Congress. If there is any difficulty in disposing of surplus property, the President, if he does not have the power under the Surplus Property Act, which I think he has, can come back and ask for it. But certainly the policy of Congress, as I understand it, and of every Senator who has spoken on the floor, is expressed in these words:

Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.

My amendment would insert a period at that point and strike out the remainder of section 2.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I do not care to repeat myself in respect to my position as indicated yesterday in my address to the Senate, but I desire to state very briefly why I intend to vote for the amendment submitted by the able Senator from Ohio.

I do not think there is any disagreement between the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] and the Senator from Ohio in respect to the ultimate objectives. We are all in agreement that lend-lease must not be used directly or indirectly, by subterfuge or otherwise, for post-war relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. I think we must also all

agree that there must be some sort of a liquidation formula in respect to the lend-lease hang-over when hostilities are concluded.

The language which the able Senator from Ohio is seeking to strike from the bill deals with this hang-over. It is the liquidation clause. It gave me great trouble when it was before the Foreign Relations Committee. We discussed it at length. It occurred to me that a liquidation period, to begin with, of 3 years, was out of character with our purpose to terminate lend-lease at the end of the war. We discussed with Mr. Crowley the possibility of reducing this paried to 2 years or 1 year.

period to 2 years or 1 year.

Mr. Crowley agreed at one point that it might be reduced to 2 years; but in the final analysis the committee took Mr. Crowley's view that the purpose of this proviso is all in the interests of the United States itself, all in the interests of an orderly liquidation of lend-lease obligations. I still think there is a great deal to be said for that point of view, and I am not quarreling with the able Senator from Kentucky in his presentation of the matter at all.

On the other hand, Mr. President, I think it is perfectly apparent that under the terms of the House bill it is perfectly possible for a new lend-lease commitment to be made 24 hours before the end of hostilities, and it becomes very problematical then whether, even though it amounts to billions of dollars, it is not covered into this authority of the President to continue that lend-lease contract into the future for at least 3 years on the basis of a post-war settlement by the Allied country which is the beneficiary of the arrangement.

I confess that I do not like the implication of a two and one-half billion dollar lend-lease commitment being made on the very eve of what we hope will soon be the termination of hostilities. It seems to me that that can carry within itself the very implication that the program is intended to carry over into the post-war period.

So, Mr. President, I come to the conclusion which I shall state and then take my seat. I think there is a necessity for a clause providing for liquidation, which is the purpose of the clause which the Senator from Ohio seeks to strike. I think there is a serious question as to whether the actual language before us accomplishes the purpose we all have in mind. I shall vote to strike it so far as the Senate is concerned, so that the conference committee may explore the subject with a further inquiry into all the various phases of the matter which have been raised in the course of this debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT].

Mr. BARKLEY. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, have they not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered, yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken O'Mahoney Overton AustIn Guffey Bailey Gurney Ball Hart Pepper Radcliffe Bankhead Barkley Hatch Hawkes Reed Bllbo Brewster Hayden Hickenlooper Revercomb Russell Saltonstall Briggs Hill Hoey Johnson, Callf. Shipstead Smith Buck Burton Bushfield Johnson, Colo. Johnston, S. C. Taft Taylor La Follette Thomas, Okla. Butler Langer Lucas Tobey Tunnell Capehart Capper Chavez McCarran McClellan Vandenberg Wagner Connally Cordon McFarland Walsh Wheeler Wherry Donnell Downey Eastland Magnuson Milllkin White Wlley Ellender Moore Ferguson Fulbright Morse Willis Murdock Wllson George Murray Myers

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventynine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I do not wish to detain the Senate or prevent an immediate vote on this question; but it seems to me that the issue is greatly confused. It ought to be clear what we are doing, if we are to do anything about it.

When we enacted the original lendlease law it contained this provision:

After June 30, 1943-

That was the original termination

or after the passage of a concurrent resolution by the two Houses before June 30, 1943, which declares that the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a) are no longer necessary to promote the defense of the United States, neither the President nor the head of any department or agency shall exercise any of the powers conferred by or pursuant to subsection (a)—

This is the exception which was in the original act—

except that until July 1, 1946, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before July 1, 1943, or before the passage of such concurrent resolution, whichever is the earlier.

That is the original law. It was intended that we were to arm the countries whose defense was regarded as essential to our own defense. Who can say how much shorter this horrible war has been made by the exercise of the lend-lease powers, even though we may think they have been abused, than if those powers had not been granted by the Congress? If the war has been shortened 1 hour, and one single American life has been saved, I shall never be an apologist for the passage of the Lend-Lease Act.

I have read from the original act. In the House, when the present proposal to renew the act was brought forth, it was proposed to amend the section which I have just read, which is subsection (c) of section 3, by striking out the period after the word "earlier", inserting a semicolon, and the following new language: "Provided, however, That nothing in section

3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for post-war relief, post-war rehabilitation, or post-war reconstruction.'

Then a new exception was inserted. Why? For the purpose of saving the original provision of the act itself; for the purpose of preserving the original intent and purpose of the Congress of the United States. That was the only purpose. Without this exception nothing could be done by the President by way of a contract or agreement with a foreign country at the time he makes an advance under lend-lease, which would not be condemned. Look at it for a moment and see if that is not true. Is it conceivable that anything that is on hand after the actual termination of the Lend-Lease Act by its terms, which is now proposed to be made June 30, 1946, or earlier if we pass a concurrent resolution in Congress, could be used? What could the President forfend? What could he liquidate in advance? agreement could he make which would be advantageous to the country? With the adoption of the Taft amendment he would be absolutely forbidden to do anything after the actual termination date of the act which might tend to the postwar rehabilitation, reconstruction, or relief of any other country. Of course, the law might be applicable to mere shot and shell which had been fired, but it could not apply to anything except a limited category of explosives, or something which was wholly consumed. It could not apply to a jeep. It could not apply to a gun, a gun carriage, or a piece of rubber. It could not apply to a railroad car or a railroad locomotive. It could not apply to blankets, shoes, or anything else. To adopt the language which the House inserted, as proposed to be bobtailed through the Taft amendment, would be to nullify the original provision of the Lend-Lease Act.

Do we wish to do that? If we do. I think we ought to understand it very thoroughly. I do not believe that the country will misunderstand it. I am very sure that the country will not misunderstand our action here today.

Senators speak of the Surplus Property Board as though it could step into the shoes of the lend-lease Administrator and execute all his functions with respect to everything that we have all over the world.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GEORGE. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I rise merely to suggest that the Surplus Property Board is going to do that very thing with respect to billions of dollars' worth of Army property which is now abroad. Mr. GEORGE. Yes.

Mr. TAFT. I do not quite see why it should not carry out that function with respect to such small lend-lease property as has not yet been delivered to foreign nations. Practically all of it is de-livered in this country. There may be a little of it hanging around.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I see a very good reason why the Surplus Prop-

erty Board cannot do so. The Surplus Property Board is not equipped to go all over the world and inspect this property. It is not equipped to determine the value of the property. It cannot determine, except after laborious investigation, what the original cost of production was, or anything else about the property. Why throw it all away?

We may have an innate distrust of the President. We may say that he is going to misuse and abuse the powers given him. I do not like to take that view.

Let me call attention to a further fact. The original Lend-Lease Act had in it this liquidating provision for the benefit of the United States. It was intended to benefit the United Sates. Can anyone say whether or not we could have done better with lend-lease without this provision in the law? Can any Senator answer honestly before the American people that we would have obtained more or less by way of reverse lend-lease if we could not have carried out the liquidation provision contained in the original act? What is our situation? At the time when we estimate what is to be advanced to any nation under lend-lease, we must do it in advance of the actual extension of credit, so to speak. We must estimate it a year ahead, in order that we may know what our own budget will be, in order that Congress may be advised what will be needed in order to administer lend-lease. At the time when the agreement is closed or when the understanding has been reached and has been put into writing, with all the safeguarding clauses which have been inserted in the lend-lease agreements. then it is said, "But some of these goods or some of these arms or some of these implements may carry over into the peace." Why not at this time fix their value? Why not at this time liquidate what you will pay? Why not at this time close the account?

Whatever anyone may think of the President, that is the sensible way to carry out the transaction. Whatever anyone may think of anyone else who will use the power, that is the time to have the foreign nation agree with us, that is the time to find out what the foreign nation is going to furnish us by way of reverse lend-lease. We may pooh-pool that if we wish to do so, and we may throw it to the winds, but actually it has already amounted to more than \$4,000,000,000. It is not a small item. Actually it is an item of significance. The only time to do it is when the agreement is made or when the point is reached of closing the commitment with a foreign country. Then we should say, "This item here may carry over, and this item here costs so much. You shall assume an obligation to repay at that price."

What will the Surplus Property Disposal Board know about it or do about it? What will become of it? It will be lost unless it is safeguarded at the time.

Mr. President, I do not wish to have lend-lease used for purposes of the relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction of any country. On this floor I pleaded as earnestly as I would plead in the beginning that lend-lease be considered as a

weapon of war, only as a means of defending the United States, which then had not gone to war, only as a means of building up our defense. It may have been a costly method; it may have been unwisely administered. There may be those who now will take advantage of it. as we think-let me emphasize that we only think—when we are approaching the end of the war, even in Europe.

We have agreed to make advances to France totaling approximately \$2,575,-000.000. Nine hundred million dollars, or almost \$1,000,000,000, of that is in property which will have some post-war value whenever the war ends.

So our Government is saying, "With respect to those items, you will pay the cost of production, and you will save us harmless against the contracts we are now making with our own manufacturers to bring into being the things which we are making and which we propose to deliver to you. We will settle now as regards what those items are worth on a cost basis, or on some other reasonable basis. You will agree to take; you will agree to pay."

How do we know what we saved by that procedure? Senators say that no doubt we will do great things for the world when the war is ended and when the last shot has been fired: no doubt we will be liberal; no doubt we will not be niggardly; no doubt we will help the starving peoples of Europe, and so forth.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator's time on the amendment has expired. Does the Senator desire to take time on the bill?

Mr. GEORGE. I shall take a little time on the bill, Mr. President.

When are we going to do it? We had a chance to do it with France-France, an original ally, an original enemy of Germany-France, against whom all the mighty power of Germany and the Nazi Army was leveled at a time when they were unbeatable. France went down; and through all the Gethsemane of agony and blood, she suffered. Then we sought to reach our enemies through France. France was thus twice over-run. Of course, her roads were destroyed, her bridges were ruined, her rolling stock was gone. Her factories were idle. How do we know that we did not advance less to France under this agreement, because of the fact that we could now agree with France on something that she herself would do? We have to use her ports. Our great armies are to be moved back through France when the war in Germany finally ends. Many of our troops, at least, must be, and will be, moved back through France. How do we know that we would not have felt, and France would not have felt, that if she could not have the privilege of now buying and fixing her liability under the lend-lease agreement, she would not desire at our hands a much larger sum?

That is the sum total of the sinning of the Lend-Lease Administrator to date. He has cut down, through negotiation for the first 12 months after the fall of Germany and the end of the German war, by approximately 40 percent or a little better, perhaps, or a little less, the advances made to Great Britain and her Dominions in 1944, under lend-lease. In other words, from a total of approximately \$10,000,000,000 in 1944, the present negotiations indicate that we will advance only as much as \$5,500,000,000 for the full year after the end of the war in Europe. Do we not expect that it will be our desire to have the friendship of Great Britain after the war with Germany? Do we not realize that we have the stubborn enemy on the other side of the world yet to deal with? Are not British Armies fighting today in India? Are they not now invading Japaneseheld territory? Do we not need the friendship and the active assistance of Great Britain? Perhaps we will not need the assistance of her navy at this time, because of the strength and greatness of our own; but certainly we will need the help of Great Britain to finish this war. We will need France. France has possessions in the far Pacific. Certainly we will need such assistance as France may be able to give us. We will need the assistance of France in order to clear out of Germany.

The common impression, Mr. President, and the one usually prevailing, is that France is doing nothing. Let me say that France has today, so I am told our own authorities, approximately 225,000 men in Germany itself, and approximately 15,000 more men in her Air Corps and her ground forces supporting her Air Corps; and she is preparing to raise an army of 8 additional divisions. They will be needed for the occupation of Germany, to enable our forces to leave Germany. They may be needed for a whole year. They may be needed for a longer period of time than that. But the lend-lease agreement with this liquidating clause was intended to benefit the United States; it was intended to aid us in making advantageous agreements with foreign governments; it was intended to save what we could save.

The fact which many of us may face, namely, that there have been abuses or that there may be great abuses, is, it seems to me, no reason why we should now strip the Lend-Lease Act of this liquidating provision which certainly is advantageous if we are to keep any part of the House amendment to section 3 (c)

of the original act itself.

My position is well known. I do not believe that I need to restate it. I have never been in favor of spending for spending's sake. I thoroughly agree that we should have an over-all picture of what we propose to do as soon as we know what we intend to do. I think we should have it not only as to the outside world, but here in the United States. If any Members of this body have stood here and contended against the destructive doctrine-as I believe-of our English friend Lord Keynes, I have been one of that number. I believe with all my heart that his theories will bankrupt Britain if she follows them for another 40 years. But I am greatly heartened when I realize that whatever influence the doctrine of deficit spending in order to create purchasing power, as sometime advocated by Lord Keynes, may have here—and it has taken root—it will not be very long approved in England.

Another English economist proposed a program of pensions, general pensions, from "the womb to the tomb." He was unable to get very much of a following in England, because the British Government and the British people declined to accept it.

Mr. President, another theory has taken hold of America. I refer to the full-employment doctrine, and the 60,-000,000-job program of Henry Wallace. I suggest that Senators get the latest book of Sir William Beveridge and read it. I have stood against the doctrine of deficit spending as permanent policy as strongly as any other Member of this body.

With respect to the proposal before us, I must accept facts as they are. The American people elected Mr. Roosevelt as the President of the United States. Our individual constituents elected us to represent them in this body. The lend-lease provision, if we retain not only the first part of it but reject the amendment striking out the liquidating clause, is designed to benefit our own country. It is intended to enable our Government to liquidate accounts as we go along, with a reasonable reliance on the officials of government properly to discharge their duties.

The head of this Government was elected by the American people. Small segments of that same constituency elected each of us as their representatives.

I am trying to do my duty. This provision in the Lend-Lease Act is a wise The amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Ohio would destroy the liquidating provision in the original Lend-Lease Act. For that reason I hope that it will be rejected.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio on page 2, in line 10 of the bill, to strike out all after the word "reconstruction." On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. EASTLAND (when his name was called). On this question I have a pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings]. If he were present he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote I would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded. Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. MITCHELL] is necessarily absent on public business. If he were present he would vote "nay.

Mr. WAGNER. My colleague the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] is necessarily absent. If he were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Florida [Mr. Andrews], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM] are absent because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business with the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

The Senator from Tennessee STEWART] and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Typings] are absent on public business.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] is detained in one of the Government departments on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] is paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS]. If present and voting, the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay" and the Senator from Idaho would vote "yea." The Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "nay" and the Senator from New Hampshire would vote "yea.

Mr. WHERRY. On this question I

announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges], who would vote "yea, with the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS], who would vote "nay"; and

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS who would vote "yea," with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK], who would vote "nay."

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] are necessarily absent.

The result was-yeas, 39, nays, 39, as follows:

#### YEAS-39

Ferguson Revercomb Saltonstall Shipstead Smith Ball Gurney Brewster Brooks Hart Hawkes Hickenlooper Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Colo. Buck Bushfield Tobev Butler Capehart La Follette Langer Vandenberg Wheeler Capper Cordon Wherry White Millikin Moore Morse Overton Donnell Willis Ellender Wilson

#### NAYS-39

Guffey Austin Murray Bailey Bankhead Hatch Myers O'Daniel Havden O'Mahoney Pepper Barkley Hill Bilbo Hoey Radcliffe Russell Briggs Chavez Johnston, S. C. Lucas McCarran Connally Taylor Downey Fulbright McClellan McFarland Thomas, Okla. Tunnell George Gerry Wagner Walsh McMahon Magnuson Green Murdock Wiley

#### NOT VOTING-18

Kilgore McKellar Andrews Scrugham Stewart Bridges Maybank Mead Mitchell Robertson Chandler Thomas, Utah Tydings Young Eastland

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this question the yeas are 39 and the nays are 39. The Chair votes "nay," and the motion of the Senator from Ohio is lost.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I desire to discuss briefly the subject which was introduced during the consideration of the pending measure by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. I wish to make it plain at the outset that anything which I may have to say concerning the problem of attendance of Mem-

bers of the Senate during the deliberations of this body are not in any wise to be taken as a reflection upon any individual Senator or group of Senators, nor upon this great institution of democracy in which I have had the honor to serve now for nearly 20 years. No man on this floor has greater reverence for this institution or deeper appreciation of the important part which it has played in the development of American democracy in the past than have I, and no man has higher hope for the part which it may be destined to play in the future; and I think I may say, without immodesty, that there is no other member of this body who is more keenly aware of the tremendous problems and the important duties which have devolved upon Members of the United States Senate and which I fear will increase in importance and complexity as we enter the period of peace and reconversion.

I am aware of the tremendous demands which fall upon any man who endeavors to discharge the responsibilities now confronting a Member of the United States Senate. I know full well, because I have experienced it, man and boy, of the enormous increase in the amount of office work, which is a necessary part of the service rendered by United States Senators to their constituents. I am aware of the extremely heavy burdens which fall upon Senators as the result of their multiplicity of service upon vitally important committees handling questions of the greatest magnitude and of the most difficult complexity. So, Mr. President, what I have to say concerning this matter, I repeat, is not intended in any wise as a criticism, but more as an appreciation of the staggering burdens now carried by every member of this body who is well enough to be on the job.

Mr. President, for some time I have been concerned about the fact that the increasing burdens of responsibility and of duty which have devolved upon the Members of this body have tended to decrease the attendance in the Senate of the United States when this body is transacting legislative business. After all, the transaction of such business is an important part of the functions of a United States Senator, and, regardless of what detractors have said concerning the debates in the Senate. I state it as my deliberate conviction, after a long period of service as an employee of the Senate and now for nearly 20 years as a United States Senator, that the deliberations of this body are important not only insofar as the actual formulation of legislative policy is concerned, but likewise because the debates furnish information to the constituents of Senators as to the reasons which have ultimately determined their position upon the vital questions which affect, for good or ill, the welfare of every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, I hope we will not forget that this Chamber is, after all, the show window of the Senate of the United States in action. A few days ago I happened to glance at the gallery, and I saw there 25 or 30 Army privates in uniform. I could from my seat see that on the left breast of each and every one

of them were service ribbons indicating that they had been in active combat somewhere in this global war. were just 6 United States Senators, by actual count, on the floor of the Senate at that time, and I could not help wondering what impression these 25 or 30 young men, representing the flower of the manhood of America, returning from their fox holes, God knows where, might have of this branch of the National Legislature. It would have been unfitting for me to rise in my place to explain to them that no doubt each and every Senator who was not present was either in his office trying to discharge the responsibilities of his office work, was at an executive department attempting to straighten out some matter for a constituent, or was attending an important committee meeting.

The members of the Joint Committee on Organization of Congress have done me the great honor to select me as the chairman of that committee. I have carefully refrained, as the chairman of the committee, from making any statements which might in any wise indicate that I was attempting, even if I had the power, which I do not, to prejudge the work of the committee. We have been under way for only a short period of time. I wish to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues in this Chamber, and the Members of the other House, for the interest which they have evidenced in this very important question. I have come to the conclusion, since the Senator from Kentucky raised this question, that I should not remain silent, because I do not know how long it will be before this committee may be in a position to make any recommendation concerning the organization of Congress.

Mr. President, I should also like to state in advance that what I am about to say is not intended as a reflection on any employee of the Senate. For 6 years I had the honor to be an employee of the United States Senate as secretary to my father. I know most of the employees of the Senate intimately, and I have a high regard for their fidelity in their service to this body.

Without making any new suggestions as to what might be done in attempting to attack the main causes of absenteeism in the Senate, I think there now exists in the rules a provision which, if enforced, would help to maintain a better attendance on the floor, and if a practice which had its inception and has been carried on solely with the idea of being of service to Senators were abandoned, we might make a step forward, without as I have said, attempting to attack the main causes, all of them legitimate, which produce absenteeism in the Senate.

The first provision of rule 5 I should like to read, of course, for the RECORD, because I feel certain every Senator is familiar with it:

No Senator shall absent himself from the service of the Senate without leave.

That rule, Mr. President, to my certain knowledge, is observed only in the breach. I call for the enforcement of the rule.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Does the Senator consider that rule to apply to Senators who are in the city?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I certainly do.

Mr. TAFT. Is the rule violated if a Senator leaves the chamber to interview a reporter, in the President's Room, for instance, or is it intended merely to keep

Senators in the city?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If I may say so to the Senator from Ohio, I think the intent of the rule is clear and that it is without exception. Of course, it would not be necessary in the Senate, as in a fifth-grade classroom, to get permission to go out of the door, but it certainly means that, so far as the production of a quorum is concerned, no Senator has the right, without leave of the Senate, to be beyond call of the Senate. I would say, for example, that a strict observance of this rule would require a Senator if he expected to be absent from the chamber to go downtown to an executive department on official business, to obtain leave of the Senate, because obviously he would be gone beyond the call of the Senate, and that is the important thing in maintaining a quorum, namely, that there must be a sufficient number of Senators within the precincts and confines of the Capitol Building to produce a quorum, and thus to permit the Senate to func-

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator, yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I take it the fundamental purpose of that rule is to assure that a quorum of the Senate shall be present in the Senate during the sessions of the Senate.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; or at least that they shall be within ready call of the Senate so that a quorum, at any time that it is necessary to produce it, may be obtained without undue delay of the functioning of the Senate.

Likewise I wish to call the attention of the Senate to section 39 of title 2—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator has expired. The Senator is speaking on the bill. No amendment is pending.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I understood the limitation applied only to the Taft amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. No; the limitation is in effect during the further consideration of the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Very well. I am sorry I misunderstood the situation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is still before the Senate and open to amendment.

If there be no further amendment, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill (H. R. 2013) was ordered to a third reading, and read the third time.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the bill, which I offer and ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the pending bill has been read the third time. In order that an amendment may be offered at this time, unanimous consent must be obtained.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from North Dakota had intended to offer an amendment, and so advised me. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator be permitted to offer the amendment, notwithstanding the third reading of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I offer the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Before the period in line 20 it is proposed to insert a colon and the following: "And provided further, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to authorize the manufacture for, or the disposition to, any foreign government, of any machinery, implements, or equipment, suitable for use on the farm."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE, Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will take 15 minutes on the amendment to conclude what I have to say. I wish to call attention to the statute, indicating that Congress has sought effectively to deal with this problem in the past. The provision in the statute is paragraph 39 of title II of the United States Code annotated:

Deductions for absence: The Secretary of the Senate and Sergeant at Arms of the House respectively, shall deduct from the monthly payments of each Member or Delegate the amount of his salary for each day that he has been absent from the Senate or House, respectively, unless such Member or Delegate assigns as the reason for such absence the sickness of himself or of some member of his family.

We all know, Mr. President, that that statute is not enforced; but I believe and I think I have a right as a Member of the Senate to call for the enforcement of the rules of the Senate, and I now here formally call for the enforcement of paragraph 1 of rule V, which I read previously, namely that no Senator shall absent himself from the service of the Senate without leave.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes, briefly.

Mr. BARKLEY. A similar rule exists in the House of Representatives. When I was a Member of the House some years ago it was very difficult to obtain a quorum, and the House adopted a resolution docking the salaries of Members until they should have returned to Washington. The trains were crowded with Members on their way back to Washington

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That would not be necessary. I may say again that so far as I am concerned nothing I have said or shall say should be taken as any reflection upon Senators, because it is my observation that Senators are hard working, conscientious and overburdened. But I do call for the enforcement of this rule, and I insist that hereafter Senators obtain leave of the Senate when they desire to go outside the precincts of Capitol Hill where they are available for a quorum.

Likewise, Mr. President, as a Member of this body, I call formally for the abolition from this day forward of the practice which has grown up during the years of putting Senators on a quorum call as if they were present, although they did not answer on the particular call. The practice as it works now is that the desk is furnished a list from the Republican side and from the Democratic side of Senators who are known to be out of the city. Then the roll is called. A few Senators appear. The names of a sufficient number are put on the roll to constitute a quorum, and then subsequently, no matter it if is 4 hours later, the name of any Senator who puts in a visible appearance in the Chamber is placed on that

Today, there were 32 Senators present in the Chamber when the announcement was made that 49 were present or had responded. I venture the assertion that if I had not made these remarks and if the Senator from Kentucky had not made the remarks he made, when the Record appeared tomorrow morning it would show 79 Senators as having answered on the first call.

One of the reasons why Senators, feeling the pressure of work upon them, do not appear when the roll is called, is that they know that so far as the official record is concerned they can be listed as being present if they show up any time during the day. I feel certain that the abolition of that practice will have the effect of producing a physical quorum, or if I may so describe it, a physically embodied quorum of Senators. If they once come into the Chamber, perhaps they will be inclined to remain.

I feel that I should stop at this point with suggestions as to further remedies, because I should like to see the effect of the enforcement of paragraph 1 of rule V, and the requirement that a Senator must be present on a particular call and answer to his name audibly before his name can be placed upon the call as being present. I should like to see the effect of the enforcement of that rule on attendance in the Senate.

As indicated by paragraph 39 of title II, which I have read, I believe that there are other remedies. In fact, I have devised one which I think might be effective in producing a quorum promptly, but it is a rather drastic step, and I shall not propose it at this time.

In conclusion, Mr. President, let me say that we must bear in mind that our failure to be present in the Chamber in person can have nothing but a most unfortunate effect upon the estimation in which people hold not only this body, but the whole concept of representative government.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I fully agree with the Senator; but would the Senator consider a further step which might solve the dilemma in which Senators find themselves? What about a rule, for example, which would prevent our being called from the Chamber? As the Senator knows, we are all continually sub-

ject to such calls during sessions of the Senate. Would such a rule help?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think it might

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Should there be some rule or understanding among Senators with regard to sessions of committees while the Senator is in session?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator very well knows, because he was a distinguished Member of the House, that the House has a rule that when the House is in session no committee may meet without permission of the House, except by unanimous consent. I believe that one or two House committees have authority to meet when the House is in session.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Appropriations Committee has such authority. It is my experience that Members of the House abide by the rule.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I have had experience in conference committees or joint committees, with Members of the House saying that they must leave to answer a quorum call in the House.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Is not the difficulty that we are on so many committees? In the House I was a member of one committee. In the Senate I am a member of four committees.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think that is one aspect of the problem, as I have tried to indicate.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Simply laying down the requirement that Senators must be present in the Chamber would put Senators in an impossible situation.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not think it would put them in an impossible situation. I believe that such a requirement would cause many Senators to remain in the Senate chamber. I believe that we should try this plan first, because I do not wish to see a solution of the problem of attendance in the Senate delayed until we can attack all the primary causes of absenteeism. I am satisfied in my own mind that the two things which I have suggested would go far toward producing better attendance in the Senate. If not, we shall have to resort to some of the other remedies.

As the Senator from Arkansas knows, I am keenly interested in trying to solve the primary causes; but that may take a long time. In the meantime, in my opinion, we must do something about attendance in the Senate. Therefore, I have suggested these two measures as steps in that direction.

The Senator knows as well as I do that it is not always a committee meeting which detains a Senator. He may be in his office dictating letters, or being interviewed by constituents, which is a vital part of a Senator's work. When a quorum call comes, he reaches for the telephone and calls the Democratic cloakroom or the Republican cloakroom and asks, "What is up in the Senate?" He is informed that it is only a quorum call. He asks whether or not a vote is imminent. The answer is "No." He hangs up the receiver and continues with his work.

I believe that we could put a stop to that practice by enforcing paragraph 1 of rule V. It would eliminate a practice which is not in conformity with the Rules of the Senate, or with any common-sense application of the effect of a demand for a quorum.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield if I have

any further time.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I am seeking information. At this moment the Subcommittee on Aviation of the Committee on Commerce is holding a meeting downstairs to consider the question of airports in this country. I am a member of that subcommittee. If the rule to which the Senator has referred were enforced, what would be the procedure? Would I rise and say, "Mr. President, may I go downstairs to attend a meeting of the Subcommittee on Aviation?'

I was a Member of the House for many years, as was the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]. When committees of the House meet during sessions of the House, specific permission is requested for members of the committees to be absent from sessions of the House. When permission is granted, it is so recorded. If a Member of the House wishes to be absent from sessions of the House for a considerable period of time because of illness in the family or because of official business, he obtains leave of absence. Today the Mead committee is out of the city somewhere holding hearings. suppose word will go out from the Press Gallery today that Senators who are members of that committee are absent. In the House, when a Member is absent for any reason, leave of absence is granted.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It is required under the rules of the House.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes. In the House that rule is rigidly observed. There are little slips for the Members to fill out.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. All I am asking at this time is enforcement of the rule of the Senate.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I am wondering how that rule would work when a Senator was attending a committee meeting.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. A Senator could govern himself accordingly. If a Senator wishes the RECORD to show where he is, he has a perfect opportunity and right to do so. However, in my opinion the practical application of this rule would not cover the situation which the Senator describes, because a committee meeting in the Capitol or the Senate Office Building would be within call of the Senate. If a call for a quorum were made, the Senator would be able to respond to it. However, if a Senator goes outside the precincts of the Senate and beyond call—if, for example, he goes downtown to a department, where he cannot know that there is a call for a quorum or a vote—I think he should ask to be excused for that purpose.

Mr. MAGNUSON. As is done in the House?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes. He should not leave the city without permission. If the law were properly enforced, a Senator would have 1 day's pay deducted from his salary for every day he was absent without permission of the Senate.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Does not the Senator agree with me that when committees meet during sessions of the Senate, the chairman of the committee or subcommittee should ask permission of the Senate for the committee to meet during sessions of the Senate?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I certainly think so, although we have no rule prohibiting meetings of committees during sessions of the Senate. That may be one of the things which is required. However, I am trying to think of something which we can do now. I believe that the two suggestions which I have made might help in that direction. As the Senator knows, under the existing practice, if there should be a call for a quorum, the clerk of the aviation subcommittee, for example, would call up someone in the cloakroom and give him a list of Senators in attendance at the committee meeting. That list would be presented to the clerk at the desk, and the names of those Senators would be entered on the roll. That does not produce a quorum.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to ask a question in regard to the mechanics of the operation, following up the question asked by the Senator from Washington. Who would grant leave? Suppose I were to rise and ask the Presiding Officer for permission to leave the Senate. Would leave be granted by the Presiding Officer?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No. Permission would be granted by unanimous consent. It would be granted by the Senate itself.

Mr. WHERRY. If objection were made, a Senator could not obtain such permission?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is correct. Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield. Mr. VANDENBERG. The rule provides that no Senator shall absent himself from the service of the Senate without leave. Is not a Senator in the service of the Senate if he is attending a committee meeting?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I have just stated that we have no rule similar to the rule of the House, prohibiting meetings of committees when the Senate is in session. I do not believe that any Senator must obtain permission to attend a committee meeting; but I certainly believe that if a Senator wishes to go outside the precincts of the Senate, where he cannot respond to a quorum call or a call for a vote, under this rule he should obtain leave of the Senate to do so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I wish to say a very brief word about the situation discussed by the Senator from Kentucky and also by the Senator from Wisconsin. I think it appropriate that it should be discussed; indeed, I think discussion of the problem is needed. I happen to be one of those who have viewed for some years with the gravest apprehension the centralizing process which has been going on in our Federal Government. use the hackneyed expression, I have viewed with alarm the constant expansion of government, until government today reaches into almost every field and every activity of human life. I especially have been concerned at what I consider to be the growing powers of the Executive. The increased powers of the Executive have been in large part at the cost of the two other coordinate branches of the Government, the judiciary and the legislative branches. I think the legislative branch has fallen immeasurably in public esteem in late years. I say to the Senator from Wisconsin and to other Senators that we are not going to restore the prestige of this great legislative body, we are not going to bring it back to the influence it once had in this country, to the respect which at one time was entertained for it—we are not going to bring it back to that high place with empty seats during the sessions of the Senate, with the galleries looking down on us and seeing but a handful of Senators present, and even that handful sometimes indifferent to the discussion that is going on.

Mr. President, I think one way to check what I call executive encroachment upon the legislative branch, one way to restore somewhat the respect which should be entertained for the legislative branch of the Government, one way to restore the legislative body to its former high estate, is to see to it that we are present in our places listening, learning, legislating, and when we shall have done that—and I have some notions as to contributions that might be made, but I shall not undertake to state them now-I think there will be a change for the better. I welcome the discussion by the Senator from Wisconsin of this sub-

ject matter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER].

The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President-

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I wish to ask a question of the Senator from Wisconsin. The Senator's committee does not have authority, does it, to make recommendations with regard to the rules of the Senate?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No; I do not think that is a proper interpretation of the limitation. The limitation is that the committee may not make any recommendations concerning rules of procedure and debate. Of course, the question is one of interpretation. But knowing what was in the minds of those who suggested the limitation, I am inclined to construe it rather liberally, just so long as we do not tread on the ground which I know was in the minds of those who proposed it. Of course, my colleagues on the committee, when we come to make our recommendations, may not agree with me about that point.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In the light of the discussion which has been had, it would seem very appropriate for the Senator to make some recommendations with regard to some of these matters. Thope he will. Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair must state that inasmuch as the Senator from North Dakota now has the floor, if he yields, the time taken by Senators to whom he yields will be charged against his time.

Mr. LANGER. Very well; I have yielded to the Senator from West Virgania.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I have listened with a great deal of interest to these discussions, some of them critical. Certainly I take no issue with any desire on the part of anyone to enforce the rules of the Senate; but, I think it quite unfortunate that these excoriations of the Senate and its actions should come at this time, when perhaps they may be heard by persons who do not thoroughly understand the situation. However much Senators may say they do not mean to criticize the Senate and its Members, the effect may be that of criticism, and much of it unjust criticism.

I wish to say to the Senate that we have now been in session, day after day, for some time; that the work of Senators is not only on the floor of this Chamber but elsewhere. We have to serve with the committees which are meeting from time to time. We have work for our constituents and must receive delegations from our States which call upon us, particularly with respect to the administration of some of the laws under the commissions and bureaus of the Federal Government. Delegations are constantly coming to Senators, complaining about the treatment they receive in connection with the enforcement of some of the laws. It is a duty of Senators, and a very high duty, to meet with such delegations and to aid them all they can. That duty often conflicts with our duty to be on the floor of the Senate.

So I say today, and I say it in all kindness, that I think it is unfortunate that this criticism, this excoriation, should come at this time, particularly in view of the fact that it may leave a misunderstanding in the minds of some who have heard it. The Senate is a hard-working body, in the main. Most of the Members of this body work as hard as any men I know. I rise at this time in all earnestness to defend the Senate.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, yesterday I stated at length what is happening in our country in reference to farm machinery. I stated that throughout the Northwest farmers are suffering for lack of farm machinery. I told the Senate that in the county of Hettinger, N. Dak., the county agent testified that in 1943 in that one county the farmers lost approximately \$1,000,000 because they did not have the farm machinery they needed in order to cultivate and harvest their crops.

I hold in my hand the hearings before the House committee on the lend-lease extension bill. They show that the total exports of farm machinery under lendlease to all countries since the beginning of the lend-lease program, up to November 1, 1944, amounted to \$53,600,000 worth.

Mr. President, yesterday I demonstrated very clearly that at the time when the farmers in the Northwest were begging for tractors and combines and plows, at that very time, through the one little town of Portal, N. Dak., 566 rubber-tired tractors and 355 combines were sent in 6 weeks, during July and August, under lend-lease, to Canada.

Under lend-lease such machinery has been sent to north Africa; it has been sent to all parts of the United Kingdom; it has been sent almost all over the world—and all at the expense of the farmers of the United States.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, may there be order in the Senate Chamber? I think one way to improve the dignity of the proceedings in the Senate is to have Senators pay attention when they are on the floor of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let there be order in the Senate. The Chair has been trying to obtain order, but it is very difficult to do so when Senators hold conferences on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I now call attention to page 41 of the hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Mr. Johnson, who was testifying in favor of the lend-lease extension bill, replied, in answer to a question:

Mr. Johnson. I would like to make this request: In connection with the data that you are to prepare for Mr. Mund, in answer to how much farm machinery had been exported under lend-lease and how much under U. N. R. A., I would like at the same time to have that statement give us the amount of food that we have received under lend-lease in reverse, or reverse lend-lease.

Then, Mr. President, I discovered that no farm machinery at all has been sent abroad under U. N. R. R. A. I very respectfully submit that after the war in Europe terminates, we can send, under U. N. R. R. A., all the farm machinery that is needed in order to produce food. Let me point out that the amendment provides that the machinery cannot be sent abroad under lend-lease. It can be sent abroad under U. N. R. R. A. The manufacturers can sell any amount of it they wish to sell, and the American people will be paid for it, as in the case of other exports.

Mr. President, I wish to place in the RECORD at this time, and I ask unanimous consent to do so, approximately 100 telegrams which are along the same line as those which I read into the RECORD yesterday. I make this request because the telegrams show the desperate condition in which the farmers all over the northwestern part of our country find themselves.

There being no objection, the following telegrams, addressed to Senator Langer, were ordered to be printed in the RECORD:

Kelso, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. We received 1 car last Friday, first one since March 19. Have not been able to do any business for 3 weeks due to car shortage. Will take at least 20 cars to start business again.

EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO., O. CHRISTIANSON.

SOUTHAM, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
No cars received this week. Received four since December 1944.

SOUTHAM ELEVATOR Co.

ASHLEY, N. DAK., April \$, 1945. Had no boxcars for 2 weeks. KLAUSS ELEVATOR Co.

BOWMAN, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
Loaded last week 15 cars out of 14 elevators. Could use 150 cars.
Western Lumber & Grain Co.

NORTHWOOD, N. DAK, April 9, 1945. Re telegram. Received 7 boxcars last week. Loaded our first wheat since February 20. Have 200,000 bushels to ship.

NORTHWOOD EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

ZAHL, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar week ending April 7.
Please do utmost to get more. Much gain in
danger of spoilage.
ZAHL CO-OP GRAIN & TRADING CO.

MINNEWAUKAN, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
We are facing a critical boxcar shortage.
Must have cars to process seed grains in order
to increase production for coming year and to
move grain which is becoming out of condi-

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co.

PILLSBURY, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Had 5 cars January, 4 cars February, 9 cars March, 5 cars April. Shipped 98 cars same period last year.

tion.

PILLSBURY ELEVATOR CO., FRANK MCKAY.

ROCKLAKE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
Received one car past week. Thousands bushels in territory must be shipped before warm weather arrives or a high percentage of loss will result through spoilage. Because of excessive moisture, cars must be made available to save this vital food and feed grain.

ROCKLAKE FARMERS' UNION ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION, R. L. CARTER, Manager.

BOTTINEAU, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.

Boxcar situation critical. Most elevators have been blocked for 3 months. Estimate 140,000 cars to move grain on farms alone in Central and Northwest States. Large amounts of grain are in danger of spoilage. We urge you to contact Interstate Commerce Commission and insist on substantial increase of empty boxcars from eastern roads to western roads to be used in the country for moving some of this grain.

CARBURY FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co.

DOYON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received four gondolas, one boxcar last week.

SUNDEEN & TRONSON GRAIN CO.

VENTURIA, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
Two coal cars loaded in March. No cars since March 21. Why the discrimination?
SAYLER ELEVATOR CO.

FAIRDALE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. No cars for 2 weeks.

SCHREDER ELEVATOR CO.

Souris, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Had one car for grain last week and only 4 cars this year.

Souris Cooperative Elevator Co.

WHITMAN, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. No cars received in April. Please try get empties quick.

EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO.

COULEE, N. DAK., April 10, 1945. Received only 10 grain cars in last 3 months. COULEE FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

REYNOLDS, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. No boxcars received, last car received March 15.

REYNOLDS FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

PINGREE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar last week. PINGREE GRAIN CO.

Newburg, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Re tel have only received one car. Newburg Cooperative Elevator Co.

YPSILANTI, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Four grain box last week. YPSILANTI EQUITY ELECTRIC CO.

WISHEK, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two grain cars last week. DOYLE GRAIN CO., W. J. DOYLE.

· WISHEK, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two grain cars last week. UNION ELEVATOR CO.

STREETER, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received four cars last week, but we need 10 more.

STREETER ELEVATOR CO.

TIOGA, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two boxcars for grain last week. VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

WILLISTON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Re tel. received 3 cars last week. Need at least 100 cars for April. FARMERS UNION GRAIN & SUPPLY CO.

CASSELTON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received four cars Great Northern, three Northern Pacific last week. CASSELTON ELEVATOR CO.

SHERWOOD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. One grain box furnished week ending March 7.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

AMENIA, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Four cars received last week, need 30 more. AMENIA SEED AND GRAIN CO.

SHERWOOD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. grain box furnished week ending

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

GARRISON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two cars last week.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

SHERWOOD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. One grain box furnished week ending March 7.

CARGILL, INC.

GARRISON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two cars last week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

Brocket, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar last week; cars needed. EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO.

DEERING, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar this week.

VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

Underwood, N. Dak., April 9, 1945.
One car February, one car March, one

FARMERS ELEVATOR & MERCANTILE CO.

UNDERWOOD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one empty boxcar this week. PEAVEY ELEVATORS.

CALIO, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one car last week. OSBORNE McMillan Elevator Co.

HANNAH, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one car in March, one in April; elevator full. HANNAH FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

LINTON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Loaded 4 cars last week.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

BOTTINEAU, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. In reply to your wire we did not receive any cars the week of April 7. CARBURY FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

WIMBLEDON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Your wire received. Two boxcars last week.

WIMBLEDON FARMERS ELEVATOR.

SHELDON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Did not receive any grain cars last week.

SHELDON FARMERS ELEVATOR Co.

CLEVELAND, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one car.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

KRAMER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Please contact Interstate Commerce Committee Chairman Wheeler. Insist on more boxcars to move our grain. Warm weather will start it to get out of condition. Must clean out soon to handle 1945 production.

'KRAMER EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

TEMVIK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Elevator blocked, no cars in sight, 50 percent grain in country to be shipped. Please take action to get cars.

TEMVIK FARMERS' ELEVATOR CO.

ANAMOOSE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

I call to your attention the critical boxcar shortage that exists throughout the entire Central and Northwest States; that hundreds of elevators are blocked; that it is estimated 140,000 cars would be required to move the wheat alone now on farms. Grain marketing in 12 primary markets is 60,000,000 bushels, or 35,000 boxcars less during present period as compared with year ago, in spite of a 20-percent increase in production in 1944. I urge you, as our best Senator, to get in touch with Interstate Commerce Commission Chairman immediately and insist on a sub-stantial daily increase of empties from east-ern roads to western roads, and they later be required to place those cars in country for grain movement exclusively. There is need for immediate action so that grain will be moved and not allowed to spoil and that transportation and warehouse space must be made available to have the increased production farmers are being called to produce in 1945.

> FARMERS' UNION GRAIN ASSOCIATION, G. H. DAVIDSON, Manager.

YORK, N. DAK., April 10, 1945. Received 2 boxcars last week. HONG FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

BLAISDELL, N. DAK., April 10, 1945. Received three boxcars last week.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR.

ALICE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received four grain cars last week. Letter following.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

PEMBINA, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
Received three cars past week, two February, and two March.

VICTORIA ELEVATOR CO.

CLYDE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received only one boxcar last week.

Peoples Grain Co.

NIOBE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two grain boxes last week. NIOBE FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO

RAY, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Had 16 cars since January 1, 4 of them last week.

RAY FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

MADDOCK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We are asking your help in remedying boxcar situation now existing. Grain in this community was put in bin last fall containing a high percent of moisture and if this grain is not moved in the next few weeks thousands of bushels of grain will be wasted. Please do what you can to help the farmers make this grain available for the war effort.

MADDOCK FARMERS GRAIN CO.

HENRY BENSON.

MADDOCK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Let us have some action on boxcar short-age. Our grain is heating in bin. Investigate and report.

JOE HAAGENSTAD.

NOONAN, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

We would like you to look into car situation. A lot of wheat on ground in fields which should be shipped out at once; 300,000 bushels waiting to be brought in. Do all you can about getting cars, we need them badly. Grain may spoir and farmers need to make room for coming crop. Thank you.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO. ROBERT K. LAMMER.

GLADSTONE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Wish you would do your utmost to relieve car shortage. Our elevator has been blocked since January 1, and could have handled 50 cars since. Got 9 cars since first of year. Have 20,000 bushels wheat going out of condition and cannot move same. There is 50 percent of grain still on farms and no elevator able to take in grain due to car short-

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

SHERWOOD, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. We urge you to contact Interstate Commerce Committee Chairman Wheeler, and insist on a substantial daily increase of empty boxcars from eastern roads to western roads and the latter be required to place these cars in country for grain movement exclusively. We need immediate relief to save grain from spoilage and to make room for increased production called for 1945.

F'ARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

LA MOURE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Kindly use your utmost influence to have grain cars diverted to this State to alleviate acute shortage in car situation.

FARMERS UNION GRAIN Co.,

RUDOLPH HERMAN, Manager.

HAZELTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. ors filled. Car situation serious Elevators filled. Car situation serious. Farmers reporting winter stored grain out of condition. Urge immediate action get cars.
HAZELTON FARMERS UNION

ELEVATOR Co., M. PFLUGRAPH.

JUD, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Please get in touch with Interstate Commerce Committee Chairman Wheeler and insist on a substantial daily increase of empties from eastern roads to western roads. Latter to be placed in the country for grain movement. Immediate action is necessary so grain can be moved to avoid spoilage and transportation and warehouse room for the next crop of increased production which farmers are being called on to produce.

JUD FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO., FRED W. JAHN.

MANVEL, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Our boxcar situation is very critical. Farmers' grain going out of condition causing great losses. Please do something.

MANVEL FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co., ROBERT A. BUSCH.

SCRANTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
For the past 3 months we have been unable to operate because of the small number of grain cars we have received to ship our grain. Seventy percent of 1944 grain crop is still on the farms; much of it in poor storage. We ask you to get in touch with Senator WHEELER of the Interstate Commerce Committee and insist on a substantial increase of grain cars from the eastern roads to our territory so we can move this grain. Prospects are for another big crop and unless we can move some of this grain now there will be no place to store this grain and we will be plugged entirely.

SCRANTON EQUITY EXCHANGE, SAM ELENBAUM, Manager.

ZAP, N. DAK., April.6, 1945. . The empty boxcar situation in this territory is terrible. We have some 25,000 bushels of grain ready for immediate shipment and it is almost impossible to get cars. See if there is anything you can do.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE CO.

BEACH, N. DAK., April 6, 1945. Have shipped 14 cars grain since January, 1945. Elevator blocked continuously. Estimated 1,000,000 grain in territory. Granary mostly fuli. Prospects favorable for another big crop.

BEACH COOPERATIVE GRAIN CO.

MOTT, N. DAK., April 6, 1945. We urge you to back Senator WHEELER, chairman, Interstate Commerce Committee, to get grain cars to the Northwest. Sixty-five percent of last year's crop still to be

MOTT EQUITY EXCHANGE.

Golden Valley, N. Dak., April 6, 1945. We would appreciate very much if you would get in touch with Senator Wheeler, chairman of Interstate Commerce Committee, to do something to relieve the grain-car shortage. We have this time about 60 cars wheat on hand ready to ship and about as many more in the country. Only had 5 cars

in the last 3 months. Soon have to make room for new crop and possible increase in production.

. FARMERS GRAIN CO.

BEULAH, N. DAK., April 6, 1945. Request that you get in touch with I. C. C. Chairman Wheeler and insist an increase of boxcars for movement grain stored on county farms and elevators. Unless present situation improves, farmers will go into new crop period without ample storage for their grain, resulting in considerable loss through spoilthe farmers are expected to increase their 1945 production, it is absolutely necessary that provision be made for movement of grain stored on farms and in elevators now and for the crop to be harvested this fall. Beulah Farmers Union

ELEVATOR CO.

NEW ENGLAND, N. DAK., April 6, 1945. Acute shortage of boxcars for moving grain is going to cause serious hardship and loss in this territory unless immediate relief obtained. This station alone will require 900 cars to move grain now on farms to make room for new crop. Received only 22 cars for loading during March against need for 300. Will require 300 cars monthly until July 1 to make room for new crop if farmers are going to have protection for increased production their Government is asking of them.

FARMERS EQUITY EXCHANGE,

HENNING STROM, Manager.

HARLOW, N. DAK., April 6, 1945. The grain car situation is very serious in North Dakota. Our elevator blocked a large amount of grain on farms which must be moved soon. Do what you can to get cars out in North Dakota for prompt loading of

> FARMERS UNION COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

ELLENDALE, N. DAK., April 6, 1945. Please contact Interstate Committee Chairman Wheeler and insist on substantial daily increase grain empties from East to protect grain now in store houses and elevators from spoiling and keep cars in Northwest to protect increased production in 1945.

FARMERS UNION COOPERATIVE, IRWIN GESME, Manager.

RICHARDTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Urgently request you immediately get in touch Interstate Commerce Committee Chairman Wheeler and insist on a substantial increase of empties from eastern roads to western roads for grain movement exclu-sively. Immediate action necessary so grain will not spoil and have warehouse space to handle new grain. Half old wheat still on farms unable to move. Elevator blocked. RICHARDTON FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR,

ROBERT GALLAGHER. .

KILLDEER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Wiring you in regards to car shortage house blocked since January 15; 30 percent of last year's crop to move yet. Should have cars immediately and made available for next 2 months in order move present crop before harvest.

KILLDEER EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

FLASHER, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. Fifty percent of 1944 wheat crop still not marketed. Elevators blocked. Grain stored on farms in inadequate bins. Urge that you contact Interstate Commerce Committee and Chairman WHEELER and insist on a substantial daily increase of empties from east-ern roads to wheat territory so that grain may be moved before further spoilage.
FLASHER FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co.

ROTH, N. DAK., April 6, 1945.

We urge you to get in touch with Chairman Wheeler and insist on more boxcars for North Dakota. We have 100,000 bushels grain to move in this territory. We are 100 percent blocked. percent blocked.

ROTH FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

ELGIN, N. DAK., April 6, 1945.

Due to railway boxcar shortages all local elevators are filled up with cash grain which makes it unprofitable in fact hazardous to buy grain. Also there is still 50 percent or better of the 1944 crop on the farms. Much of this grain is in open bins and sheds and must be moved before the new crop is harvested to prevent spoilage and make room for handling new crop. We feel that the situation is serious and that a special effort must be made to get grain cars so that this problem can be cleared up before the summer rains and heat come. We ask that you bring this problem before the Interstate Commerce Commission and O. D. T. so that we can get cars to handle this grain.

ELGIN FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co.

FALKIRK, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.

Have Interstate Commerce Committee
Chairman Wheeler get some cars out here. Elevator plugged for 4 months, also have 40, 000 bushels wheat outside in small bins which will spoil unless we can move it.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR & MERCANTILE CO.

ANETA, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Boxcar situation critical, more boxcars needed.

FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR ASSOCIATION.

WILDROSE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945.
Our elevator received two cars past week. NELSON GRAIN CO.

HAMLET, N. DAK.

BOTTINEAU, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one car last week.

WHEATLAND ELEVATOR.

ROHRVILLE, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Re tel. 7th: One boxcar received. ROHRVILLE FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

CARTWRIGHT, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. I received two cars this week. INTERNATIONAL ELEVATOR CO.

GRACE CITY, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Shipped four cars grain week April 2.
PEAVEY ELEVATORS.

WELLSBURG, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Your wire received. One boxcar, week of April 7. FARMERS' EQUITY ELEVATOR CO.

Napoleon, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. We did not get any boxcars last week. M. E. Meier Elevator.

Hurdsfield, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Received three boxcars last week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

HEATON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received three boxcars last week. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR, F. J. NEWMILLER.

BUTTE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Have received two cars the past week.

O & M ELEVATOR Co.

NORTHGATE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Week ending April 7, 5 boxcars.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

NEW ROCKFORD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received 3 boxcars last week. Could use 50 cars in the next month. Suggest you get in touch with Interstate Commerce Committee Chairman Wheeler at once, to increase the number of boxcars for the Northwest.

MUNSTER EQUITY ELEVATOR,

W. H. GULLING, Manager.

PARK RIVER, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Re tel. one boxcar past week. FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

Ross, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Received 2 boxcars; total, 11 cars this year. Ross Farmers' ELEVATOR.

ELDRIDGE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Two cars received last week.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR CO.

McClusky, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Received three boxcars this week. WAHL GRAIN CO.

GOODRICH, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Relative to your inquiry about boxcars; we had 4 cars this week, should have had 20. FARMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

VERONA, N. DAK., April 9, 1945 Received two cars this week; should have more at once. House will be blocked as soon as roads dry.

VERONA 'FARMERS UNION' GRAIN CO.

LANSFORD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar last week. HURD INDEPENDENT ELEVATOR.

GLADSTONE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. No cars since March 17; 11 cars this year. BIRDSALL ELEVATOR.

COULEE, N. DAK., April 7, 1945.
Imperative you impress upon I. C. C. Chairman Wheeler need for substantial daily increase of empty grain boxes to move the grain out and make room for increased productive collections. duction called for in 1945. Cars should move from eastern roads to western roads and placed in counties for grain movement exclusively.

COULEE FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

RAWSON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. With acute car shortage, elevators blocked. Nearly every farmer all bins full of grain. If we can't start movement said grain soon, the farmers won't have room to store the coming crop. Would appreciate very much if you would get in touch with Interstate Commerce Commission and insist that they move a substantial movement of cars from eastern roads to Northwest.

RAWSON COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR. JOHN COVILIN.

RYDER, N. DAK., April 10, 1945. Re telegram: Only received four grain cars February, three cars in March, one car so far in April. Please do your best.
FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR.

PARSHALL, N. DAK., April 10, 1945. Received 2 cars past week.

PARSHALL GRAIN CO.

PARSHALL, N. DAK., April 10, 1945.
Received 4 cars past week 2 elevators.
FARMERS UNION COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO.

Parshall, N. Dak., April 10, 1945. In reply to your wire, 10 boxcars since January 1; 1 last week; elevator blocked. OSBORNE McMillan Elevator Co

WYNDMERE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. In answer your wire relative boxcars received our last boxcar April 2.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

CAYUGA, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two boxcars week April 7. PRODUCERS MARKETING CO.

DAZEY, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Had one car last week, short 10 cars on cash wheat, 2 cars cash oats, 1 car cash flax, 1 car cash barley, and 15 cars of other grain to dispose of between now and July 1.

CARL OGLESBY, LEON ANDERSRT, \
SATRE LYLE BENDER, HELMER CRISTENSON. H. M. HANSEN, MELVIN QUICK,

Directors.

REYNOLDS, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar last week.

REYNOLDS GRAIN ELEVATOR.

REGAN, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Loaded only 1 car since January 20. Need

PEAVEY ELEVATOR.

BURNSTAD, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. We did not have any boxcars for the last 2 weeks.

> FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR Co., OTTO A. KREIN.

TURTLE LAKE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Equity Elevator & Trading Co. received 3 cars last week and the Occident Elevator cars. We estimate that there is about 250,000 bushels of grain in the country to be shipped. Farmers living some distance from town have not sold any of last years-crop due to car shortage.

EQUITY ELEVATOR & TRADING CO., JOHN SEEGER, Manager. OCCIDENT ELEVATOR, G. L. BROKOFSKY, Agent.

HAMPDEN, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. We had 2 boxcars the past week. Thanks for the inquiry.

HAMPDEN FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

South Heart, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Have received 20 boxcars for grain from January 1 to date; that would be enough for about 5 days' run; will need 250 cars to move last year's grain before the new crop.

FARMERS COOPERATIVE ELEVATOR CO

FLASHER, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. We received no boxcars last week. FLASHER FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

TRENTON, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. One boxcar last week.

FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

EDGELEY, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Had three cars.

FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO.

SAWYER, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. During January, February, and March re-ceived 47 cars in 1944; during January, February, and March received 10 cars in 1945; received 4 cars first week in April 1945; have suffered great losses because of poor distribution of cars.

SAWYER FARMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

ANTLER, N. DAIC., April 9, 1945. Received four boxcars last week; none week

ANTLER COOPERATIVE GRAIN CO.

PORTLAND, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. We received 4 cars last week. This is unusual; 75 cars of cash grain in our elevators. We have been blocked since January 15. PORTLAND FARMERS UNION ELEVATOR CO.

Tower City, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Had no grain boxes fist week; elevator full.

TOWER CITY GRAIN CO.

WYNDMERE, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received two boxcars on April 2. FARMERS GRAIN & FUEL CO.

GRANO, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received one boxcar last week. , ATLANTIC ELEVATOR CO.

BATTLEVIEW, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Had two boxcars last week. The St. Anthony & Dakota Elevator Co.

SHELDON, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Did not receive any grain cars last week. COBURN FARMERS ELEVATOR CO.

GOLDEN VALLEY, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. Received 2 boxcars past week, 30 more needed.

OCCIDENT ELEVATOR.

Fargo, N. Dak., April 9, 1945. Received last week two cars at Oriska, three Durbin, nine Sanborn, none Wild Rice, one Gilby, two Honeyford, one Meckinock, none Herrick.

> VALLEY GRAIN CO. RED RIVER GRAIN CO.

MINOT, N. DAK., April 9, 1945. We received four boxcars last week.
MINOT FARMERS COOPERATIVE GRAIN ASSOCIATION.

BUFFALO, N. DAK., April 6, 1945.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your wire just rereceived in regard to boxcars. I have had two cars this week. I might also add that I had only two during March.
-Yours truly,
W. R. Endersbe, Manager.

CARRINGTON, N. DAK., April 7, 1945. No boxcars received this week. FARMERS INDEPENDENT ELEVATOR CO. M. F. WALSH, Manager.

EDMUNDS FARMERS UNION GRAIN CO., Edmunds, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR MR. LANGER: I have two elevators full of grain and one house has weevils and bran worms and would like to get cars to get some of the grain out so I could turn the grain over before there is any more loss on the grain. I got four cars from the railroad and took off the tops of each bin, but that does not help me out. Please do what you can to help out.

Yours truly,

D. E. LUHRS, Manager.

Niagara Cooperative Elevator Co., Niagara, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

United States Senator,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: In reply to your telegram regarding the grain-car situation.

No. 69—4

During the month of March we loaded six cars of grain; four of those cars were shipped in to this station with coal or other merchandisc, so we were really furnished only two cars in March.

We loaded one car this week, with the exception that today we loaded an ore car, which is only a very small car, and is shipped at the responsibility of the consignor or the consignee; in other words, the railroad company will not assume responsibility for loss from using open-car equipment.

We are blocked much of the time. We are unable to clean grain for our patrons for the reason that we cannot get room for handling.

Yours very truly, E. F. LIND. Manager.

KINDRED FARMERS ELEVATOR CO. Kindred, N. Dak., April 7, 1945. Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LANGER: We have your wire requesting information on the number of cars we have received this past week. We had 3 cars set in here and picked up 2 in the yards for the best record we have had for any week this year. At the present time we have 37 cars ordered and are waiting for them. exceptionally bad for us as seed cleaning is coming on when we will be so rushed with this chore it is going to be difficult to find time to load, and then we have our annual cut-off on April 30 and should get this stuff out so we can get our cut-off made. Hope you can put some pressure on the guys who are running this show and if they come with any more cracks like they did about its being 'presumptuous" to ask for cars to relieve this condition; put them in their place on that

Thank you for your interest in this matter hope you can get C.
Respectfully yours,
O. H. Johnson, and I hope you can get some quick action.

Manager, Elevator Department.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The Senator has disclosed the great shortage of farm machinery and has pointed out that sufficient farin machniery has not been made available to our farmers. course, the Senator from North Dakota knows that our farmers are confronted with the most serious problems that ever faced farmers in the entire history of the world. In spite of those problems they are measuring up in the most magnificent way. But does the Senator know that short as the supply of farm machinery is this year, next year the manufacture of farm machinery will be reduced 40 percent, and that the decision to do so has already been made by departments in Washington?

Mr. LANGER. I did not know that until-this afternoon, when I was so informed by a distinguished Senator who is a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and who is familiar with the situation to which the Senator from Colorado refers. The situation spells absolute disaster for the farmers, because reports already indicate that there is a 30-percent reduction in the manufacture of farm machinery. there be added to that reduction another of 40 percent, it will mean that the farmers who have not been able to buy

machinery will be practically destitute of necessary farm machinery.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I have been informed in the past few days by representatives of the War Production Board that the farm machinery quota for this quarter has been cut back 30 percent from the original basis of a year ago. Furthermore, no reduction was made in lend-lease requirements with regard to farm machinery. That information was received by me from the office of the War Production Board. There is a shortage of farm machinery. That statement applies especially to the present quarter. The allotment of machinery which we have been afforded heretofore is to be reduced considerably.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Da-kota [Mr. Langer].

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, on my amendment I ask for the yeas and nays. The VICE PRESIDENT. Is the re-

quest sufficiently seconded? The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, wonder if the Senator from Nebraska will withdraw his request. I have no objection to a yea-and-nay vote being taken on the amendment of the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I do not wish to delay the Senate. I withdraw

my point of no quorum.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I shall not unduly delay the Senate. The amendment on which we are about to vote reads as follows:

And provided further, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to authorize the manufacture for, or the disposition to, any foreign government, of any machincry, implements, or equipment suitable for use on the farm.

If the amendment were adopted, it would mean that under the lend-lease program we could not lend, lease, or provide any machinery to any country for the purpose of producing food for our own armies. No corn, wheat, grain, or any other food product of any kind could be raised in many foreign countries for the purpose of feeding our own men who are in the Army and Navy of the United States. Certainly the Senate should not agree to an amendment of that nature. I hope the amendment will be rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER]. On this question the year and nays have been requested. Is the request sufficiently seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Florida [Mr. Andrews], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Chandler], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Virginia IMr. GLASS], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], and the Senator from Nevada

[Mr. Scrugham] are absent because of illness.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellanl and the Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] are detained in Government departments on business pertaining to their respective States.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MITCHELL] is absent on official business with the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DAN-IEL], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Typings] are absent on public business.

I further announce that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] is paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS]. If present and voting, the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay" and the Senator from Idaho would vote "yea."

The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] has a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I am advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "nay.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] has a general pair with the Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas]. He is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. Thomas], who would vote "yea," has a pair on this question with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK], who would vote 'nay.'

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Rob-ERTSON], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Thomasl, and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 28. nays 46, as follows:

#### YEAS-28

Hickenlooper Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Colo. Bankhead Shipstead Taft Buck Thomas, Okla. La Follette Langer Wheeler Wherry Bushfield Butler McCarran McKellar Capper Downey Eastland Millikin Wilson Revercomb Hawkes NAYS-46

Myers O'Mahoney Overton Bailey Guffey Hart Hatch Ball Barkley Pepper Radcliffe Russell Bilbo Brewster Hayden Hill Hoey Johnston, S. C. Saltonstall Taylor Tobey Tunnell Kilgore Lucas McFarland McMahon Magnuson Chavez Connally Donnell Vandenberg Ellender Ferguson Fulbright Morse Murdock White Gerry Murray

NOT VOTING-22

McClellan Maybank Mead Mitchell Stewart Thomas, Idaho Thomas, Utah Andrews Bridges Byrd Capehart Chandler O'Daniel Reed Robertson Tydings Young Cordon Scrugham

So Mr. Langer's amendment was reiected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill having been read three times, the question now is, Shall the bill pass? The bill (H; R. 2013) was passed.

#### EFFECT OF STABLE MONEY PACTS ON AMERICAN EXPORTS

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, in view of the fact that we have just extended the Lend-Lease Act, I should like to have permission to read into the RECORD for about half a minute material taken from one of the daily papers of Omaha under date of September 23, 1944. The article is entitled "Stable Money Pacts Signed. Trade Agreements Ban United States Goods." The article is by Lou Schneider, and reads:

The Netherlands, Beigium, and Luxemburg Governments concluded, several months ago, post-war trade and money agreements. France, Belgium, and the Netherlands are now concluding a like agreement. As soon as that is completed, Great Britain wiii sign similar accord with the Dutch-French-Belgian bloc.

These economic agreements cail for stabilizing of currency exchange rates and the suspending of all trade tariffs between the nations involved. Purpose is for rapid post-war rehabilitation and to form a west-ern European bloc as far as trade and com-

merce goes. The international monetary machinery set up at the Bretton Woods Conference will not be disturbed. But, outside of lend-lease shipments from America, the new setups wili be a "lock-out" of United States exports—except for essentials unobtainable elsewhere.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE FULL-EMPLOYMENT BILL

Mr. MURRAY: Mr. President, since the introduction of the full-employment bill, sponsored in the Senate by the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], and myself, and in the House by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, the newspapers of the country have made a significant contribution to public understanding of the problem through continuous editorial discussion of post-war employment in general and the full-employment bill in particular.

I ask unanimous consent that some of the more important editorial comments upon the full-employment bill may be printed at this point in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### [From the Nashville Tennessean of March 31, 1945] FOR ALL HANDS

In the intervening weeks since the intro-duction of Senator Murray's full-employment bill, the reaction of American business has not been such as to indicate an appreciation of the fact that because the problem involves a major Government responsibility there will definitely be some sort of legislation in this fleid.

Full employment—or full prosperity—lies within our production potential, as the current war has served to demonstrate. Yet 60,000,000 jobs far exceed our best peacetime record. Should we follow our traditional pattern of boom and collapse, the current heights which we have achieved would contribute to the violence of the downward plunge and would increase the depth and

length of the depression., Our production potential cannot be realized—and slowly but progressively expanded—without concerted planning and effort.

Because this inescapably entails grave Government responsibility, Congress may be expected to act to set up such safeguards as it can to prevent a crash from our present heights and to encourage an expanding peacetime economy. It would be an act of extreme short-sightedness on the part of American business to set itself against such inevitable legislation.

By such a course it would forfeit the opportunity to contribute constructive criticism and advice and share in making such legislative safeguards serve most usefully. The childish and unconstructive criticism of the President's goal of 60,000,000 jobs during the past 90 days is an example of the nega-tive attitude assumed by some spokesmen of industry. Talk like "the emphasis in jobs is ali wrong; it's production that counts" is mere twaddie. The President's meaning is ciear. He chose to define the goal in concrete terms of employment. Other terms could have been just as meaningful.

Business leaders now have before them

Senator Murray's proposal for Government's contribution toward prosperity. His bill puts primary emphasis on supplementing private initiative with Federal public-works programs to assure a fuil budget of jobs. If no broader or sounder program is forthcoming, this bill or another of similar nature will likely pass. Business stands to benefit by a helpful and constructive attitude toward such legislation. It has everything to iose by adopting a defensive and petulant position.

## [From the Rapid City (S. Dak.) Journal of March 20, 1945]

#### UP DICTATOR, DOWN PEOPLE

Plans for employment after the war are subject to a wide uncertainty because of the impossibility of the human mind to weigh all the imponderables.

Many experts have set 60,000,000 as the number of jobs it will be necessary for a prosperous nation to fill after the war. Some of the experts are getting pessimistic. They are fearful that it can't be done.

Comes now another expert, Ralph Robey, with the robust statement that 60,000,000 jobs is a fantasy. He sets the number of those who will be willing to work at 58,000,-000 to 59,000,000. and from these figures deducts the normal number who will not work, ducts the normal number who will not work, anyway, the women who will go back to the home, the number who will remain in the armed forces, and arrives at a figure of 54,000,000. If it is 54,000,000 instead of 60,000,000, he contends, the situation will be very much easier to contend with. That extra 6,000,000 would be an immensely harder nut to crack than all the rest.

Extraordinary efforts are being made to meet the situation. Private industry feels that it is on the spot and has been planning vigorously. For more than 18 months it has been moving to meet the situation—to bring about expanding industry in every community. It relies upon the demonstrated fact nity. It relies upon the demonstrated fact that initiative, vision, and courage have always accounted for a large part of every productive movement in the world's history. Enough steam behind private enterprise, it thinks, will solve the problem.

Government is alert to the situation also. One theory is that government should do everything, another that government should supplement the efforts of private enterprise, take up the siack, supplement, round out the efforts of industry which fall short.

The struggle of Fascists, Communists, National Socialists, and other social extremists, ali of which would exalt what they think would be security at the expense of liberty, is enormously aided by the gross wastes, losses, and despairs of war. Liberty is in dire neril; democracy, which we believe is the hope of the world, is fighting for its life. Unless we can strike a balance between private enterprise and government regimentation it will be up dictator, down people.

Senator MURRAY, of Montana, has a bili in Congress, which, on its face at least, attempts to reconcile this clash between private enterprise and government domination.

The declared objectives of this bili are to foster free competitive enterprise, the expansion of private capital in trade and commerce the development of national re-sources and the assurance at all times of adequate employment.

It aims to win three objectives by a government set-up which shail estimate number of people requiring employment, the volume of needed investment, the degree to which this volume is in sight, the amount of cooperation from government which will be needed to supplement the investment in

The President would be required to submit to Congress plans and a budget to meet

any such shortage. There are two high hurdies.

The first is the imponderables which the human mind can neither estimate or agree upon, and the second is that we shall continue for the next 4 years to have the same kind of a political government which we have had for the last 12, a government which is not disposed to an impartial weighing of the known factors but is committed to government as the ruler, not the servant, of man.

#### [From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 23, 1945]

#### SENATOR MURRAY'S BILL

Senator James E. Murray has introduced a biii to implement a new principle of demo-cratic government. It is called a "full em-ployment bill," and is designed to gear public works, not to pointies, not to doies, but to the Nation's need for jobs at any given time. It would set up the almost automatic machinery whereby Federal projects would be thrown into the breach when private enterprise could not provide maximum employment—and only then. The bili will be iil-received by many conservatives. Actually it is aimed at showing up the very system that made America great.

In his historic message to Congress of Janthe principle which the Murray bill would put into practice. At that time he set forth an economic bill of rights "under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established." One of those rights was "the wight and properly sight was "the right that are the property to be setablished." right to a useful and remunerative job."

During the Presidential campaign, he returned to that theme. Both candidates accepted the idea that public works must be reiled upon when necessary to bridge the chasm between unemployment and fuil employment, but Mr. Rooseveit was the more forceful. "To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative empioyment," he said at Chicago, "an adequate program must provide America with close to 60,000,000 productive jobs."

He returned to the new biii of rights in his

recent message, called the right to a job "the most fundamental" of aii, and added. "The Fcderal Government must see to it that these rights become realities." Firmly he continued: "We must make sure that private enterprise works as it is supposed to work.

Ideas always march ahead of events, and principles ahead of the tools that make them operate. The idea of popular government grew in Greece and flowered, many centuries later, under the care of such men as John Locke and Rousseau and Jefferson, until finally the framers of the Constitution made it a reality.

Similarly, the idea that government has economic as weil as political responsibilities

has been growing in this country since the Homestead Acts were passed under Lincoin. It graw with the Sherman Act under Theodore Rooseveit; with the setting up of the Bureau of Reclamation. Mr. Hoover said in 1930 that "Economic depression cannot be cured by iegislative action or Executive pro-nouncement. Yet he took huge strides to-ward the principle of economically responsible government when he set up the R. F. C.

The idea grew ail over the world with industrial and technical progress and the exhaustion of new land frontiers. When men were out of work by the millions, they had nowhere to turn except to government, and the resultant unrest proved dangerous to the very life of democracy. It was thus in Ger-

many.

England tried the dole. The United States tried C. W. A., W. P. A., C. C. O., and similar projects, some of which were sound and sur-The administration, beginning in 1932, was faced with the stark necessity of keeping democracy on its feet and keeping out revolutionary movements and methods of solving a mass unemployment problem

unequaled in history.

However lyrically the principle of "jobs for all" may be expressed, that is what is behind Another wave of mass unemployment in this country might see democracy, the private enterprise system, representative government as we know it, collapsing. The alternative is to strengthen the whole system by guiding it into new evolutions and improvements that will face up to the changing times and conditions, yet without impairing the initiative of American business or the enter-prise of American industry.

What Senator MURRAY proposes is the most promising machinery yet offered, because it relates employment to production by annual survey; because it confines Federal spending to those areas and periods where private enterprise can't make the gradc. The President's principle and MURRAY's plan are based on the thesis that strong and independent people want no freedom to hunger; that the time has passed when government can "iet them eat cake." The choice now lies between progress and survival or stagnation and economic disaster.

#### [From the Fort Worth (Tex.) Star-Teiegram, January 25, 1945]

#### PEACETIME JOES

The national full employment bill, sponsored by Senators Wagner, Murray, and O'Mahoney, and statements by Henry A. Wailace as nominee for Secretary of Commerce bearing the same assurances of post-war jobs for ail are calculated to mislead many people that the Federal Government as in the de-

pression will provide such.

The size of our national debt and heavy taxation will be a barrier to the plan of made-work by the Government, save in extreme emergencies, and hence it is necessary that the people realize that the source of employment in the post-war period will be private enterprise, which provides productive work. Thus, the rejuvenation of business and industry becomes the cardinal objective of any post-war plan of full employment. That fundamental proposition is obscured by the undue emphasis upon the function of government in affording work for the people. It is confirmed by the following statement in the Senate bill: "It is the policy of the United States to foster free competitive enterprise and the investment of private capital in trade/and commerce and in the development of natural resources of the United States."

The import of that sound principle should not be lost in the political pressure for public-works projects, unempioyment compensation, subsidies, and other expediencies which in future years will be financed by taxes rather than borrowings. Incidentally, should the Senate bill be passed, the preparation of national employment and production budget" should be delegated to men of business experience and ability such as the ousted Secretary of Commerce, Jesse H. Jones, rather than inexperienced theorists such as Henry Waliace.

#### [From the Charleston (W. Va.) Mail of January 31, 1945]

#### THE MURRAY BILL.

Implementation of the administration's program to provide "fuli empioyment" during the post-war period has begun with the introduction of the Murray bill in the Sen-Tackling the employment problem as a mathematical exercise, the proposal is based upon this scheme: First, determine how jobs are needed each year; subtract from this the number of jobs likely to be made by private enterprise; estimate how much that figure can be increased by Government encouragement to private industry, and add on enough federally created jobs to equal the total originally accepted as necessary for fuii empioyment.

From the administrative standpoint, the measure calis for a national production and employment budget, to be formulated an-qually by the President and submitted to Congress along with the Federal Budget covering Government expenditures. The proposed production and employment lay-out would embody detailed information on em-ployment under private enterprise and federaily encouraged private enterprise. Also recommended in the bill is a general program of public works to be paid for with Government funds. But the recurrence of the W. P. A. idsa of made work under governmental supervision is prevented by the provision that public works would be carried on by private concerns operating under Government contracts.

Under the Murray bill, there would be a joint committee on the national budget, inciuding nine Members of each house. Its duties would consist chiefly of studying the document and reporting their findings by March 1 in order that other congressional committees might be guided in dealing with legislation relating to the national budget.

Whether this proposed measure is the best solution to the problem of providing jobs for Americans after the war is a matter which merits exhaustive investigation and careful consideration by Congress. It should not be overlooked by either the executive or the legislative branches of the Government, however, that jobs cannot be regarded as so many objects to be counted from time to time. Their number is directly dependent upon many factors. Of these, none is more important than a Government policy which encourages the expansion of industries on an independent basis. With the proper incentive, American industry might progress to the point of utilizing all the post-war manpower without financiai assistance from the Govern-

#### [From the Chicago Times of January 31, 1945] JOBS FOR ALL

Business and government are in agreement on the number of jobs it will take to maintain high level employment when the war ends and Johnny comes marching home. If Johnny is to find security and prosperity, President Rooseveit has said, an adequate program must provide America with ciose to 60,000,000 productive jobs.

The Committee for Economic Development, businessmen's group organized to anticipate the rightful demands of veterans and war workers returning to civilian work, sets a figure of fifty-three to fifty-six million needed post-war jobs 30 to 45 percent above tile 1940 figure.

#### BUSINESS PLANS TO PROVIDE JOBS

Business is making its own plans to try to maintain that figure. The Committee for Economic Development, in cooperation with local chambers of commerce and trade associations, has made surveys to learn what local business and industry expects to be able to do when the war ends. "These estimates," says the Committee for Economic Development, "do not represent guaranties of jobs, but they do mean that definite plans have been made to provide the number of jobs each survey indicates."

When business cannot unequivocally guarantee fuli employment, Government must step in. Senator James E. Murray, of Montana, has introduced a measure which would synchronize Go hment planning with that of private enterp. . The bill is regarded by New Dealers as on of the means by which President Roosevelt's economic bili of rights can be made a reality. It also seems in line with the San Francisco campaign statement made by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey:

"If at any time there are not sufficient jobs in private employment to go around, then Government man and must create additional job opportunities. There must be jobs for

"Whether we like it or not, and regardless of the party in power, Government is committed to some degree of economic direc-

William B. Benton, vice chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, has "Businessmen must rid themselves of hostility to evolution and change in the responsibilities of Government in the discharge of its proper functions. Without Govern-ment, business cannot do the job after this war that must be done.'

#### CONGRESS WOULD ACT IF BUSINESS FAILED

The Murray bill would throw the resources Government into a survey of upcoming business each year. Congress would be given annual reports on job prospects. If less than full employment was indicated, Congress would first take measures to encourage increased private employment, and finally, if necessary, outline a program of Federal expenditures. It should be noted well that the key role is assigned to Congress, not to the President.

Henry A. Wallace, nominated by Roosevelt to be Secretary of Commerce, has declared the Secretary of Commerce, has declared the Federal expenditures should not be in the nature of W. P. A. or relief jobs but should be for private jobs created through contracts with private companies.

The Murray proposal makes clear, how-ver, that Federal spending would be confined only to those areas and to those periods in which private enterprise couldn't quite make the grade. Conservatives have reacted with a fear that the measure would encourage Government-planned national cconomy. The National Association of Manufacturers has described the bill as tackling the unemployment problem as "an arithmetical exercise.

It could hardly be denied that a certain amount of arithmetic will be required in any measure which is intended to act as a substitute for our former policy of waiting until unemployment is upon us before doing something. The statistician is as important to government in these modern, complex times, as he is to business.

#### TEAMWORK COULD BRING PROSPERITY

Under Murray's arithmetical exercise Government and business would be better informed about each other. Both have promised us a dynamic and expanding economy. Uncertainty on both sides ought to be reduced to a minimum. Business can help by frankiy stating its job limitations. Government can help by laying out its program on taxes, public expenditures, etc., weil in advance.

# [Public Law 31—79th Congress] [Chapter 61—1st Session] [H. R. 2013]

AN ACT

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (c)

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has been growing in this country since the Homestead Acts were passed under Lincoln. It graw with the Sherman Act under Theo-It grew with the Sherman Act under Theodore Roosevelt; with the setting up of the Bureau of Reclamation. Mr. Hoover said in 1930 that "Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or Executive pronouncement." Yet he took huge strides toward the principle of economically responsible government when he set up the R. F. C. The idea grew all over the world with industrial and technical progress and the ex-

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#### AN ACT

To extend for one year the provisions of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (c) of section 3 of an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1945" wherever it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1946"; by striking out "July 1, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1949"; and by striking out "July 1, 1945" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1946"; and subsection (b) of section 6 of such Act is amended by striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting

in lieu thereof "June 30, 1949".

SEC. 2. That subsection (c) of section 3 of such Act is further amended by striking out the period after the word "earlier", inserting a semicolon, and the following new language: "Provided, however, That nothing in section 3 (c) shall be construed to authorize the President to enter into or carry out any contract or agreement with a foreign government for postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation or postwar reconstruction; except that a contract or agreement entered into in accordance with this Act in which the United States undertakes to furnish to a foreign government defense articles, services, or information for use in the prosecution of the present war and which provides for the disposition, on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President, of any such defense articles, services, or information after the President determines they are no longer necessary for use by such government in promoting the defense of the United States shall not be deemed to be for postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation or postwar reconstruction."

Approved April 16, 1945.

